

GREETINGS TO YOUNG INDIA

*Messages of Cultural and
Social Reconstruction*

PART 1.

BY

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Review.

SECOND EDITION

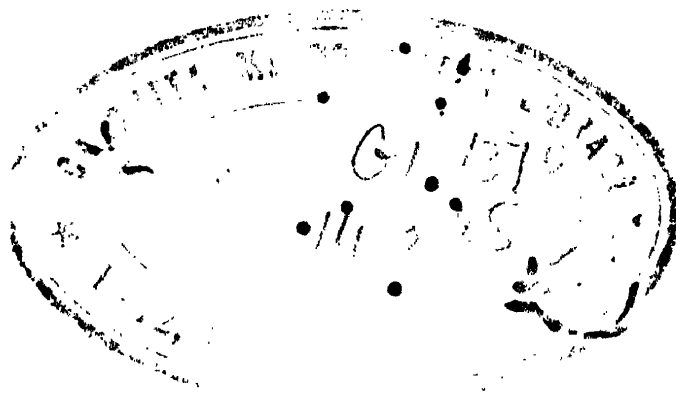
1938

N. M. Ray Chowdhury & Co.

72, Harrison Road

CALCUTTA

Price Rs. 1-0-0



Printed at the Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd.
9, Panchanan Ghose Lane,
Calcutta.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

By Prof. Banesvar Dass, B.S., Ch.E. (Illinois, U.S.A.), College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, Calcutta.

While writing the preface to the second edition of Professor Sarkar's *Greetings to Young India* at the suggestion of the publishers I should mention that these "messages of cultural and social reconstruction" were treated as heretical by the public while they were first published during the period from September 1925 to January 1927. It is to be observed that many of these ideas have now been accepted by the intellectual classes as almost the first postulates in regard to what may be called, in Dr. Sarkar's own words, the "remaking of India". Other parts of this book will appear in due course. But this the Part I. is especially valuable as indicating a landmark in the evolution of contemporary Indian thought. In this work are to be found, further, some of the characteristic expressions of Sarkarism * regarding East and West.

One of Dr. Sarkar's plans as given out in 1925,—chapter I. of this book,—consisted in the promotion of

* For the evolution of Sarkarism see S. C. Dutt's brochure, *Fundamental Problems and Leading Ideas in the Works of Prof. B. K. Sarkar* (Calcutta, 1932) as well as extensive study entitled *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta, 1934).

cultural sympathy between East and West. It is a matter for satisfaction to many of us that this plan is being realized to a certain extent through several scientific and social institutions established by himself at Calcutta since then. They are as follows :

1. *Bangiya, Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics), est. 1928.

2. "*Antarjatik Banga*" *Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute), est. 1932.

3. *Bangiya Jarman Vidya Samsad* (Bengali Society of German Culture), est. 1933.

4. "*Kulikatay Maldaha*" *Samiti* ("Malda in Calcutta" Society), est. 1933.

5. *Bangiya Samaj Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Sociology), est. 1937.

6. *Bangiya Asia Parishat* (Bengali Asia Academy), est. 1938.

7. *Bangiya Dante Sabha* (Bengali Dante Society), est. 1938.

A number of well-qualified Research Fellows is associated with most of these institutions, and among other things a sympathetic understanding of Western achievements and ideals is aimed at in and through their researches, discussions and publications. - -

Calcutta,
June, 1938

PUBLISHERS' PREFACE

Interviews and Addresses

The present publication consists mostly of interviews with Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar that have appeared in the daily papers and reports of some of the addresses delivered by him since his return to India.

Mr. Sarkar left India on April 8, 1914 and came back after eleven years and a half landing at Bombay on September 18, 1925.

Bengali Works on the Modern World

The results of Mr. Sarkar's investigations abroad have been published in Bengali in the following volumes: (1) Egypt (1915, 210 pages), (2) Great Britain and Ireland (1916, 586 pages), (3) The Great War (1915, 130 pages), (4) The United States of America (1922, 824 pages).

The contents of other volumes have appeared in the journals and are at present in the course of publication in book form. These volumes are given over to (1) Japan (500 pages), (2) China (about 500 pages), (3) France (about 400 pages), (4) Germany and Austria (about 550 pages), (5) Switzerland (about 100 pages), and (6) Italy (about 200 pages).

In these ten volumes the author has attempted a survey of present-day tendencies in industry, science, education, literature, art, and social service.

A work of this period deals with current history on the basis of French, German and Italian sources. It is known as *Duniyar Abhava* (320 pages, 1926). Papers on *The Dawn of New Russia* (about 100 pages), based on German, have been published in the journals.

Bengali Book on Chinese Civilization

An additional volume in Bengali which, however, does not belong to the travels series, is entitled *The A. B. C. of Chinese Civilization* (250 pages) and has been published in 1923.

Translations in Bengali

During the same period Mr. Sarkar has prepared the Bengali translation of (1) the historical section of Frederick List's *National System of Political Economy* (150 pages), (2) Lafargue's *Evolution of Property* (250 pages), and (3) Engels's *Family, Genes and State* (340 pages). The third is already out; the two others, published in the magazines, are awaiting publication as books.

Another Bengali Book

Hindu Raster Gadan (382 pages) is another Bengali book (just published), prepared by the author while abroad. It deals with the morphology of ancient Hindu states.

Studies (in English) in Comparative Culture-History and Sociology

Outside of these Bengali writings Mr. Sarkar's literary activity while travelling is responsible for the following volumes in English:

(1) *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes* (1916, Shanghai 363 pages)

(2) *Love in Hindu Literature* (1916, Tokyo, 95 pages)

(3) *The Folk-Element in Hindu Culture* (1917, London, 332 pages)

(4) *Hindu Achievements in Exact Science* (1918, New York 95 pages)

(5) *Hindu Art: Its Humanism and Modernism*, an introductory essay (1920 New York).

(6) *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*. Book II (Political) Part I (1921, Allahabad, 126 pages).

(7) *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (1922, Leipzig, 266 pages)

(8) *The Futurism of Young Asia* (1922, Leipzig, 409 pages)

(9) *The Aesthetics of Young India* (1923, Calcutta 120 pages).

(10) *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*. Book II, Part II, with an appendix on "Hindu Politics in Italian" (120 pages, Allahabad 1926).

A Volume of Verse

The Bliss of a Moment (Boston, 1918) is a volume of verse by Mr. Sarkar containing seventy five poems in five parts.

French and German Writings

A book in German by Mr. Sarkar is entitled *Die Lebensanschauung des Inders* (1923, Leipzig, 91 pages). One of his lectures delivered in French has appeared in the *Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques* (July-August, 1921). Others are still in manuscript.

Three Volumes on Post-War Eur-America

On contemporary problems Mr. Sarkar's work in English while in Europe comprises three volumes. One is *The Politics of Boundaries and Tendencies in International Relations* (Calcutta, 1926, 350 pages). The second is known as *Bibliographical, Cultural and Educational News from America, France, Germany and Italy* (350 pages). And the third is *Economic Development: Snapshots of World Movements in Commerce, Economic Legislation, Industrialism and Technical Education* (Madras, 1926, 450 pages). The first and the third are already out. The contents of the second volume appeared mostly in the *Collegian* (Calcutta). The book is in the press.

Editor, Commercial News

In this connection it need be mentioned that Mr. Sarkar was editor of *Commercial News*, Berlin (1922-1923). It was an of an of India's opportunities in foreign trade published by the *Indoeuropäische Handelsgesellschaft*.

Contributions to the Hindi Aj.

Finally, an item of Mr. Sarkar's literary work in the course of travels consisted in the preparation of letters for the *Aj*, the Hindi daily of Benares, since the beginning of 1921.

Social and Cultural Documents

Some of the social and cultural experiences of Mr. Sarkar in foreign countries are embodied in the documents, a few of which are reproduced in the following pages.

Invitation from the University of California

“University of California
Office of the President

Berkeley, November 29, 1916

“My dear Professor Sarkar:

“I have the honour to invite you to deliver a public lecture at the University of California upon the evening of Monday, December 4. Room 101, California Hall has been reserved for this occasion. Notices of the lecture will be published and the public will be invited. * * *

“Let me thank you on behalf of the University for your willingness to lecture before us.

Faithfully yours,
Benj. I. Wheeler,”

Interviewed by the New York Times

Mr. Sarkar was interviewed by the dailies of New York and other American cities on problems of world-culture. Here follows the facsimile of a page of the *New York Times* (March 11, 1917), containing Mr. Sarkar's views:—

American Idealism

Constantly in Evidence Here, Says Hindu Scholar

Difference Between East and West Has Been Exaggerated, According to Benoy Kumar Sarkar

It has been the first," said Benoy Kumar Sarkar, "for the English visiting the United States to comment upon American lack of idealism. I cannot understand this. It is absurd to say, for instance, that India is more idealistic than America or America more materialistic than India. This sort of speaking the language between nations and nations of one and race is utterly wrong."

Mr. Sarkar is a Bengali scholar and one of the best, now visiting New York City. He looks like a man in the early thirties, but he enjoys a fame well earned by his native country and is represented by a formidable list of books. He is the author of "The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind," "Introduction to the Science of Education," (which has been translated into English from the Bengali by Major R.D. Banerjee), "Sankhya-sutra" (a study of Hindu cosmology and politics), "The Positive Background of Hinduism," "The Philosophy of the Hindus and the Message of India," "Lectures Notes for the University of Calcutta," "The Folk Element in Hindu Culture," "Love in Hindu Literature," and "Chaitanyo Mahanta Varnana" (which has a preface by Dr. W. T. de Bary, late Chinese Minister to the United States).

This list includes only his works which appear in English; he has written also three volumes of verse in Bengali and eleven other Bengali works. One of these is a translation of Rudyard Kipling's "The Jungle," and another is "The Science of History," a survey of present-day tendencies in history, education, literature, art and social science, depicting the progress of a new world.

Mr. Sarkar is far from agreeing with those of his fellow-countrymen who come to the United States on lecture tours and, before leaving, accuse Americans of being commercial, thinking only of money and other material things. To a recent visit of The New York Times he recently had much to say in defense of American ideals. He was in evidence of his belief that civilization is exaggerated the difference between the nations of the East and those of the West.

"As a sociologist," he said, "as a student of comparative institutions from a European standpoint, I find that the mentality of Asia differs from that of Europe and that of America neither materially nor philosophically. It is absurd to say that America lacks idealism in any branch of thought or action. Idealism is constantly evident in American politics. Think of America's conduct in China, for instance, at the time of the first Chinese revolution. The nations of Europe wished to exploit China, to see that action for their own advantage. But America, instead of sharing in the exploitation, intervened and prevented this injustice. Certainly that was idealism which any Oriental should be glad to hail.

"Consider sociology—if anyone to this world today the rights of humanity, the dignity of humanity, are upheld in theory and in practice, it is nowhere in the world today more so than in America. It is in America, in fact, that the world today has the strongest effort to establish it. It is in America, in fact, that the world today has the strongest effort to establish it. It is in America, in fact, that the world today has the strongest effort to establish it.

clarity of thought, that receptivity to new ideas, that willingness to depart from old conventions, which are characteristic of idealism. Scientific orthodoxy, experimental psychology, eugenics—all these new studies, thoroughly idealistic in their humanitarianism, have taken a stronger hold on the American mind than on the mind of any European country.

"For the last ten or fifteen years the trend of American thought has been idealistic. The studies of all these years, from those of the Roman republic down to the study of the French revolution of our time, have influenced American thought. I do not think that any higher ideal has been preached at any time anywhere in the world than is now preached in America.

"It is false," said Mr. Sarkar, "to classify a country according to its idealism, morality, or anything of the sort. I am surprised that Mr. Rabindranath Tagore should do such a thing. I cannot understand how he came to enter the passing criticism of America which the papers attribute to him. He knows that the young men of India are great admirers of the American literature and idealism. He knows that if the people of India love any country other than their own, that country is the United States of America.

"We find in India that the soul of our land has ever been closely akin to the soul of the United States. Twenty-five years ago Ramchandra Dutt, who has been called the Milton of India, wrote a poem which is known all over India, and in it he said these things:

In your American story poem,
The answer to my Indian question
Gives me the answer to my Indian question.
For the answer to my Indian question
Gives me the answer to my Indian question.

Mr. Sarkar explained that "Rabindranath" was a "satirical cry." He further explained that the poem was intended to be a criticism of America.

"It is also untrue," said Mr. Sarkar, "during the period when what is called the Middle West was being established on the Far West was being established on the Far West. I do not think that the people of the Middle West were any more idealistic than the people of the Far West. I do not think that the people of the Middle West were any more idealistic than the people of the Far West. I do not think that the people of the Middle West were any more idealistic than the people of the Far West.

"I don't understand," Mr. Sarkar went on, "why you say that the people of the Middle West were any more idealistic than the people of the Far West. I don't understand why you say that the people of the Middle West were any more idealistic than the people of the Far West. I don't understand why you say that the people of the Middle West were any more idealistic than the people of the Far West.

"It is useless to state that the people of the Middle West were any more idealistic than the people of the Far West. It is useless to state that the people of the Middle West were any more idealistic than the people of the Far West. It is useless to state that the people of the Middle West were any more idealistic than the people of the Far West. It is useless to state that the people of the Middle West were any more idealistic than the people of the Far West. It is useless to state that the people of the Middle West were any more idealistic than the people of the Far West.

"The parallelism between the East and the West is extraordinary. But it is not



Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

confined to the East and the West. An eastern man destined to the same experience. Students of history find a striking resemblance between Greece in the twelfth century B. C. and India in the twelfth century B. C. The seventeenth century was the time when Louis Quatorze (Louis XIV) was in France and the Chinese Emperor K'ang-hsi in China. And at that time, the great Aryan ruler, Ashoka, was in India. These three rulers, of equal stature, were contemporaries in different countries.

"It is a pity," said Mr. Sarkar, "that the idea that India is a nation of dreamers has become so prevalent. Take a cross-section of civilization, look at sanitation, civic life, commerce, cottage industries, and all other important activities, and tell me, if you find the English, the Indians, the Americans, the Americans, or any other people with materialistic and materialistic tendencies, the Indians. It is impossible to prove that the Indians are more materialistic than the Americans. Not until the industrial revolution of the last century was an effort made to prove that the two races differed in mentality. Comparative chronology and comparative history show that in chronology and political thinking has displayed the same strength and weakness in Asia and in Europe.

"Comparative philosophy and comparative metaphysics show that mankind has followed the same line of thought in the East as in the West, under the pressure of individual freedom from Confucius to Grand Vishnu, and from Buddha to Darwin.

"The points and the differences show that there is little difference in the nature of mankind wherever mankind may be found. Mankind has evolved upon the same ground of freedom from Rome to Buddha and from the Platonists to the 'Book of the Dead' down to 'Gimghill.' I have made a study of modern Chinese poetry and found that in the second century B. C. there were writers who were almost identical in their writings with the writers in Europe and America. I found the theme of Dante's 'Vita Nuova' appearing in the poetry of China in the second century B. C. and that of Agnes in the eighth century A. D. And this theme was already familiar to me in Hindu literature. If the differences of language were removed, if the poems of the different nations were brought down to a common denominator, so to speak, it would be found that Oriental literature and Occidental literature are the same.

"As a matter of fact, the Indians are more spiritual than the West and the West is not more spiritual than the East.

This is not a mere statement. It is a thesis on which I have been at work for years. What is needed is a comparative study of the world, not by race, population by population.

"People who hastily classify a nation as materialistic or idealistic have not a proper sense of historical perspective. They are their own times, the present relative position of the nation, and they fail to understand that a nation is not to be judged by one period of its development. Few of us have any conception of how things were a century ago. How many Americans can visualize their country as it was eighty or ninety years ago, when there was only an open prairie where now stands the City of Chicago?

"It is difficult for the century of America to go back more than one generation. Scientists, politicians, students of economics all think of the world in terms of the present. But this is an enormous fault for comparison between nations. We should remember, for instance, that at the time of Napoleon the East and the West were practically equal in science and industry and other branches of human thought and endeavor.

"But what," asked the reporter, "would this change, why have the East and West developed differently?"

"In 1814," said Mr. Sarkar, "there was first applied to industrial use in England. In 1825 or later, it was applied to industrial use in France and Germany. In these countries it produced an industrial revolution which has not yet had a counterpart in India. That is the chief reason, I think, for the belief that the Orient is the home of apathy and dreamers.

"India has not contributed to civilization during the nineteenth century. India has not thought for herself during the nineteenth century, because India has not ruled herself. Perhaps civilization has been a little checked by the progress of her civilization and for a time could not be maintained. She is not so powerful a democracy, but we must remember that at the time of the French Revolution there was not a democracy in the world.

"So we must be careful not to judge nations comparatively when we consider only the present conditions. We must compare the development of the world epoch by epoch and race by race. In this way we shall create our sense of historical perspective. And in this way we shall overcome the temptation to judge in each civilization, each country as this or that. We shall judge each nation by its own merits and not by the standards of the West or the East."

Circular of Professors Dewey and Seligman

Professors Dewey and Seligman took interest in Mr. Sarkar's investigations and issued a circular to their colleagues in the different Universities and Academies of the United States. The circular is thus worded :

"Columbia University in the City of New York
January 4, 1938"

"The undersigned take great pleasure in bringing to the attention of college and University authorities a knowledge of the presence in this country of Mr. Benoy K. Sarkar. Mr. Sarkar is a distinguished Indian scholar who has written a number of noteworthy books on both oriental and occidental subjects connected with politics, economics, sociology, education and religion. An article by him has been accepted for early publication in the *Political Science Quarterly*, and he is to deliver two lectures on oriental political theory at Columbia this spring. He has given two lectures at Clark University. We quote from Professor Hankins of that institution :—

"The lecture was one of the most interesting and suggestive I have heard in a long time. The man's scholarship is very broad and exact. He is a philosopher and poet as well as an historian. * * * he is undoubtedly master of material enough with which a larger number of American students should be familiar. He has a strong personality and fine presence and will not fail to command respect."

"We are glad to be able to subscribe from personal knowledge to the truth of these statements. Especially in these troublous times when a broader knowledge of oriental and occidental relations is desirable we should unhesitatingly urge the authorities of our educational institutions to afford their students an opportunity of coming into contact with so distinguished a representative of the intellectual life of the Orient. * * *

"(Sd) Jhon Dewey
Professor of Philosophy
Edwin R. A. Seligman

Mc Vicker Professor of Political Economy"

Contributing Editor

The following letter tells its own tale :

"The Journal of Race Development

Published at Clark University

Worcester, Massachusetts.

June 9. 1919

"Dear Professor Sarkar,

"It has given us such pleasure to publish your recent articles in the *Journal of Race Development* that the editors extend a cordial invitation to you to accept the position of one of the contributing editors of the Journal. You will notice that President Stanley Hall and myself have the immediate responsibility for the publication. * * *

"If this invitation is agreeable to you, will you kindly let me know, and I believe there will be time to have your name added for this coming July issue.

Very Sincerely Yours

Sd. G. H. Blakeslee."

Letter from the Italian Economist

Senator Pantaleoni

"Roma il 10. ii. 1920
4 Via Giulia

"My dear Professor,

"I have your article on craft-gilds and gild merchants and given immediately orders for its publication in the *Giornale degli Economisti*.

"I thank you heartily to have thought of us and will gladly publish anything from your pen.

"I thought this article was best placed in a purely scientific review like the *Giornale*. If you were to honour us with political (broadly political) articles I would have them inserted in a political review like *Politica* or *Vita Italiana*.

Yours

Sd. Maffeo Pantaleoni."

**Societe d'Economie Politique and Indian
Economists**

Mr. Sarkar, who was elected by the *Société d'Economie Politique* of Paris as one of their *membres correspondants*, received from their President, Yves-Guyot, a letter desiring to be in regular communication with the economists of India. The letter reads in the original as follows:

“Paris, le 20 février 1921.”

“A Monsieur Benoy Kumar Sarkar

“Mon cher collègue,

“Nous sommes très heureux de vous compter parmi les membres de la Société d'Economie Politique. La science économique est une science internationale, comme l'arithmétique et la géométrie. Les frontières ne delimitent pas les vérités qu'elle a acquises et celles qu'elle recherche. Ce n'est pas d'elle qu'on peut dire: Vérité en deçà des Pyrénées, erreur au delà. Ce qui est vrai à Paris l'est également à Bombay ou Calcutta.

“Les physiocrates français du XVIIIe siècle sont les véritables fondateurs de la science économique, et Hume et Adam Smith n'ont pas nié l'influence qu'ils avaient exercée sur eux. Jean-Baptiste Say, Frédéric Bastiat, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu ont maintenu leurs traditions que représente la Société d'Economie Politique de Paris.

“Nous serions très heureux d'entrer en communication régulière avec les économistes de l'Inde. Nous sommes convaincus que les échanges d'idées qui en résulteraient seraient utiles au progrès de la science économique.

“Les faits qui viennent de se dérouler ont prouvé que son importance ne cessera de grandir. La plus grande partie des calamités qui affligent le monde proviennent de l'ignorance des lois scientifiques qu'elle a dégagées.

“Bien à vous,

Yves-Guyot,

Président de la Société d'Economie Politique”

Lectures at the University of Paris

On the invitation of the University of Paris Mr. Sarkar delivered a course of six lectures in French at the Faculty of Law. The following is a part of the letter authorizing him to open the course:

“Université de Paris

“Faculté de Droit

Paris, le 22 février 1921

“Monsieur le Professeur,

“J’ai l’honneur de vous informer que le conseil de l’Université de Paris, par application de l’article 7 du Décret du 21 juillet 1817, et conformément à l’avis de la Faculté de droit, vous a autorisé dans la séance du 4 février à ouvrir à la dite Faculté, pendant les mois de février et de mars 1921 un cours libre sur le sujet suivant: “Le droit public des Hindous: Etude sur les institutions politiques de l’Inde ancienne.” * * * * *

“Veuillez agréer, monsieur le professeur, l’assurance de mes sentiments très distingués.

Pour le Doyen

Le Secrétaire de la Faculté
Chapuis”.

President Appell’s Message to the Intellectuals of India

President Appell of the University of Paris handed a letter over to Mr. Sarkar inviting the Indian savants to cooperate with the intellectuals of France. The message runs thus:

“Cabinet du Recteur

“Paris le 9 février, 1921

“Cher monsieur Benoy Kumar Sarkar,

“C’est du fond du cœur que j’envoie aux savants et aux étudiants hindous l’expression des affectueuses sympathies des professeurs et des élèves de l’Université de Paris. Nous travaillerons avec eux aux progrès d’une culture humaine mise désormais au service de la liberté et de la justice.

P. Appell

de l’Institut de France, Recteur de l’Université de Paris.”

At the French Academies

Mr. Sarkar was received at the Academies of Paris on two different occasions and had to address two different groups of "forty immortals" in French. The following photograph exhibits two reports in the *Débats* and a letter of invitation from the master of music, M. Charles Widor, secretary of the *Académie des Beau-Arts*:—

Débats, 4 juillet

A L'INSTITUT

Académie des Sciences morales et politiques

M. Lyon-Caen, secrétaire perpétuel, donne lecture d'une lettre du directeur de la bibliothèque de Beyrouth fondée par le gouvernement français pour répandre la littérature et la civilisation française en Syrie; cette bibliothèque fait appel à tous les grands établissements et notamment à l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques pour enrichir son fonds.

M. Bonoy-Kumar Sarkar, professeur, membre du CDD et docteur d'adoption de Bugeate, directeur de l'Académie Pandit d'Allahabad (Inde) fait une communication intitulée: « la démocratie indoue ». Il fait un exposé des institutions politiques des Indiens et présente quelques traits de la civilisation indoue en ce qui concerne la vie publique et le droit constitutionnel: en Grèce, à Rome, dans l'Europe du moyen âge et de l'ancien régime, il n'y a pas eu une seule institution dont on ne retrouve le prototype ou la reproduction aux Indes. Et cela pendant une période qui s'étend de Parikès au Dante.

M. Bonoy-Kumar Sarkar examine ensuite les rouages mêmes des divers organismes d'Etat qui ont encadré les grandes civilisations pendant cette longue période et il montre que pour pouvoir établir des comparaisons véritablement scientifiques, il faut faire abstraction des conditions générales de la civilisation d'aujourd'hui qui est le terme de l'évolution industrielle amenée par la découverte de la machine à vapeur et analyser objectivement chacune des phénomènes humains, sociaux et politiques à envisager dans le passé.

En Comité secret, l'Académie discute la proposition faite par quelques-uns de ses membres, proposition selon laquelle les séances de la Compagnie seraient interrompues chaque année du 15 août au 30 septembre. Cette proposition est repoussée.

4 juillet 2.

LOUIS MAZARIN

Cher Monsieur

Je suis de faire annoncer votre communication à l'Académie. In Beau-Arts pour l'année prochaine?

De vous, avec un très grand intérêt. In 2e séance qui sera à 21 heures.

45:00

9 juillet

Académie des Beau-Arts

M. Bonoy-Kumar Sarkar donne lecture d'une étude sur « l'esthétique hindoue ». Il insiste, tout d'abord, sur ce fait que, malgré certaines interdictions contenues dans les livres sacrés, les artistes hindous, passant outre, n'ont pas craint de représenter des figures humaines dans leurs œuvres. Il s'élève ensuite contre l'assertion de certains archéologues et critiques d'art affirmant que l'esprit de la culture des arts de l'Occident est postérieur à celui de l'Orient et, en particulier, de l'Inde. Il dit: « Les arts hindous, dit M. Bonoy-Kumar Sarkar, ne sont pas plus vivement associés avec la tradition religieuse que les créations des artistes grecs: les Bouddhas, les Civas, les Nandias, etc. ». L'Hindoustan ne pouvait pas être évalué plus subtilement que les Vénus et les Apollons de l'Hellade... Je n'ai jamais vu dans l'architecture orientale d'édifices ou de statues d'une inspiration plus profonde et plus exaltée que dans l'ambiance spirituelle des églises gothiques du XIII^e siècle, avec leur conception du salut et avec leurs icôles hiératiques en pierre et en bronze. Les meilleurs temples des Indes ne possèdent pas de sculptures plus charmantes que celles de Chartres avec leurs bas-reliefs de tours et de personnages. La vie religieuse des catholiques et la mentalité des brahmanistes et des bouddhistes ont produit pendant des siècles, presque la même architecture, la même sculpture, la même peinture. Où donc est l'Orient et où existe l'Occident? »

At the University of Berlin

The University of Berlin invited Mr. Sarkar to lecture under the auspices of *Auslandstudien*. A lecture was delivered in German. The notice issued on this occasion by the University (8 February, 1922) is reproduced below in a facsimile (p. xii):

Voice recorded in the Imperial Library

A three-minute speech in English was prepared by Mr. Sarkar at the request of the "Sound" Division of the State (Imperial) Library at Berlin. The following letter from Professor Alois Brandl conveys this request:

"Englisches Seminar der Universitaet Berlin
21. ii. 1922

"Hochgeehrter Herr Professor!

"Fuer Ihren auusserst interessanten Vortrag sendet Ihnen das Seminar nicht nur den Ausdruck des Dankes und der Bewunderung; er soll auch in Wort und Gewalt verewigt werden. Der Direktor der Lautabteilung in der Staatsbibliothek, Professor Doegen, ersucht Sie mit mir am 8. Maerz—wenn Ihnen dieser Tag passt—in meinem Seminar den Hauptteil Ihres Vortrages etw 3—4 Minuten lang, in die Sprechmaschine Odeon zu sprechen und sich zugleich photographieren zu lassen. * *

"Inzwischen guesst Sie in vorzueglicher Hochachtung Ihr ergebenster

A. BRANDL"

In response to this letter Mr. Sarkar read his message through the Odeon machine under the directions of Professor Doegen in order that it might be "verewigt" (i.e. made permanent). The speech runs as follows:

"The Message of Young India

During the last few decades aesthetic appreciation has been obsessed by pseudo-scientific theories of climate, race and religion. The science of criticism has managed to construct a geography of artistic temperament, and men and women have been taught to inter-

Auslandstudien der Universität Berlin

Mittwoch, den 8. Februar 1922, mittags 12 Uhr c.t.

spricht

Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar

Direktor der Akademie Panini in Allahabad
Mitglied des Nationalen Erziehungsrats von Bengalen

über

Politische Strömungen in der indischen Kultur

Hörsaal 1 des Aulagebäudes

Freier Eintritt gegen Vorweis der Studentenkarte oder des Hörerscheins

pret art-ideals and art-motives in terms of latitude and longitude. The most notorious of these anthropological demarcations of the art-sphere is the distinction between occidental and oriental zones.

But what do we learn from an objective examination of the world's great classics?

The Vishvamisras of the Hindu *Puranas* have undertaken the same Titanic conflicts with the powers that be as have the Prometheuses of Hellas.

In the *Atharva Veda* man declares his ambition to the Earth in the following manner: "Mighty am I, Superior by name, upon the earth, all conquering am I, completely conquering every reign!" European *Zeitgeist* has never been more aggressive or energetic.

In Virgil's *Aeneid* and Kalidasa's *Raguvamsha* the student of world literature will find the identical philosophy of national and imperialistic chauvinism.

Nor is there anything distinctively occidental in Edmund Spenser's eulogy of temperance in the *Facric Quenee*, in Molière's humour in *L'Etourdi*, or Goethe's "godless curiosity" in *Faust*. The troubadours of Provence, the Minnesingers of mediæval Germany and the minstrels of England could likewise have a natural home among the warrior-*charans* and *bhâts* of Indian Rajputs and Marathas.

I am not here to advise you that Germany should have to import the message of Nature from India or the East. Nor am I here to inform you that life and thought in India were ever more moral or spiritual than in the West.

My mission consists in inviting your attention to the fact that previous to the industrial revolution, i.e., down to the time of Washington, Adam Smith and Napoleon there was hardly any political, economic or juridical institution in the West for which a parallel or a duplicate could not at the same time be found in India.

I am here to announce to the world that reform in social science will be possible only when this equality

or fundamental similarity between the East and the West is accepted as the first postulate in all scientific investigations.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar."

Berlin, 22nd March 1922."

Exhibition of Modern Indian Water-colours at Berlin.

Under the auspices of the Prussian Ministry of Fine Arts, Science and National Education an exhibition of modern Indian water-colours sent by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta was held in the premises of the National Gallery (*Kronprinzenpalais*), Berlin. Mr. Sarkar's work in this connection is in part noted in the *Berliner Tageblatt* (7 Feb, 1923) by Fritz Stahl, the art-critic. The review runs as follows in facsimile (p. xv):

Moderne indische Maler.

In der Nationalgalerie.

Mit der nationalen Bewegung der Indes ist auch eine Anknüpfung an die Kunst der Völkern verbunden. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, der den Katalog einleitet, weist sehr treffend auf die parallele Erscheinung in der deutschen Geschichte hin. Wir können das vielleicht etwas bestimmter formulieren, und die Neuentdeckung der Stille, des Volksliedes, der gotischen Doms, Dürers und der niederländischen und altdeutschen Malerei, die mit Keulen und Fuchsschlägen im letzten Viertel des 18. und im ersten des 19. Jahrhunderts geschah, als entscheidend für die ganze Entwicklung der neueren Zeit hinstellen, eine Entwicklung, in der gerade jetzt wieder die Neuentdeckung der gotischen Plastik als starker Faktor wirkt.

Dieser treffende Hinweis ist sehr geeignet, unser Interesse für das anzuregen, was jetzt in Indien geschieht, und uns mehr als bloß äußerliches Verstehen dafür zu geben. Ein lang unterdrücktes Volkstum will wiederum sprechen, und sucht die Ausdrucksmittel. Es greift in die eigene Vergangenheit zurück, begeistert sich für indische Fresken und Miniaturen, findet sich aber doch in einer anderen Zeit, auch als verändertes, durch den asiatischen Objekt verändertes Temperament, und ist nicht mehr abgeschlossen, sondern kennt, wie wir alle, alles, was geschah und jetzt geschieht, kennt vor allem verändertes Asiatisches, besonders Japanisches, und Englisches, von dem Raffinement Whistlers bis zu der Planchität der Wandmalerei in den Rajagim. Und greift nach allem, nach allem zugleich.

Man kann, man muß aber diese Mischung manchmal lächeln. Aber man darf nicht vergessen, daß die deutschen Werke der Periode, die zum Vergleich herangezogen wurden, für uns heute zum Teil denselben Reiz haben, daß da auch Antikes, Gotisches, Wirkliches in merkwürdigster Weise vermengt wurden. Man denke nur an die Fresken der Casa Particella! Wie sie können auch diese Bilder ein Anfang sein, der eine bedeutende Entwicklung einleitet. Zumal, nach dem Katalog zu schließen, wenn auch nicht die Künstler, so doch ihr Fortführer ein Bewußtsein des Zustandes hat, wie es auf dem entsprechenden Punkt unserer Entwicklung nicht vorhanden war.

Und ein positives Moment ist hier vorhanden. Die besten Dinge zeigen den ererbten sehr feinen Farbensinn und die ebenso ererbte Fähigkeit einfacher Zeichnung, die nicht Wirklichkeit nachzieht, aber ausdrückt, und als natürliche Folge gute Form, um die man bei uns so heftig ringt. Das ist ziemlich viel. Es gibt ein richtiges Handwerk, aus dem immer Kunst machen kann. Diese Vorhut besteht ja doch wohl aus anglierten Indern, wenn sie auch heute Nationalisten sind. Es wird darauf ankommen, ob aus dem unberührten Volk ein Nachwuchs entsteht, der weniger gesehen hat und unmittelbar lebt.

Fritz Stahl

In Italy.

The *Libertà* of Trento, 29 January, 1925 interviewed Mr. Sarkar on the subject of cultural developments in Young India. The summary of conversations with the interviewer appears thus:—

TELEFONO. Giovedì 26 Gennaio 1895

UNA CIRCOLAZIONE AVVISI ANNUNZI

UNA PUBBLICAZIONE ITALIANA. TIRATO. Via Roma 11. 11

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Beno Kumar Sarkar

Si è detto subito che questa letteratura in senso estetico è mosca qui unica, ma per catturare lo sguardo del lettore, anche il titolo più esatto sarebbe quello di «Nationalismo Indiano».

Beno Kumar Sarkar è un letterato indiano, di razza Bengalese come il poeta Rabindranath Tagore di cui tanto parla, se era la gazzetta italiana, uomo giovane, assai simpatico e colto, professore o membro del Consiglio Nazionale di Educazione del Bengala e Direttore dell'Accademia Poetica di Alfabah: si trova a Bologna da circa due mesi, agisce nei limiti di Levico, e intende soggiornare in Italia ancora un paio d'anni, allo scopo di affacciare più intense relazioni intellettuali e commerciali fra l'India e il nostro paese. Appunto la presenza del ministro del Cultore del premio Nobel, il quale, figlio d'una razza oppressa, s'è fatto benedire a Milano di nobilitare idealismo internazionale, dando a poi europei la impressione di un'India dimentica e senza proprie aspirazioni nel mondo, di un'India cara ai tesori e pervasa solo dello spirito di rinuncia; appunto la presenza di Tagore in Italia, dico, conferisce attualità alla missione di Beno Kumar Sarkar che è ben diversa da quella del suo celebre connazionale.

Lo ripetute con ragioni con lui, che parla l'inglese, il francese e il tedesco, ed ora s'è applicato con tutto lo studio dell'italiano, dovevano servire per una serie di corrispondenze a vari giornali della Penisola, ma non n'è venuto niente, come succede spesso ai giornalisti che è senza peccato scagli la prima pietra; ed ora si cerca di farne qualche cosa di buono.

La prima cosa che il dotto indiano ha a mente, bene in chiaro è che il movimento di rinascita nazionale, a cui egli s'è dato, è perfettamente scevro da ogni spirito di xenofobia, essendo ben persuaso tutte le persone di buon senso del suo paese che l'India non possa e non debba arrivare il passo alla europeizzazione, pena il suicidio. Niente distruzione di prodotti industriali, niente ostilità alla costruzione di ferrovie, di canali navigabili e in genere alle opere moderne intese a un migliore sfruttamento delle ricchezze nazionali, niente egemonia inaspettata. L'inevitabilità della industrializzazione appare ben chiara nell'occhio di chi è dirigente di quell'empireo mondiale di commerci e di industrie che è la città di Bombay, ma non si ferma ai centri intellettuali di Calcutta, e quindi riconosce meno economicamente, anzi, per il principale punto di gravitazione e di irradiazione della cultura indiana.

Vogliono però europeizzarsi, non vogliono europeizzarsi, e per rompere l'esodo anacronistico inglese considerano come mezzo più adatto quello di aprire le frontiere alla penetrazione pacifica di tutti i popoli civili indistintamente. Le loro simpatie vanno in modo particolare alle nazioni di secondaria grandezza, in quanto esse non rappresenterebbero mai un serio pericolo per l'indipendenza indiana.

Ma è l'Italia; e tutto quanto avviene in Italia interessa e loro in sommo grado, perchè la sua recente storia serena è loro di modello del come un popolo possa con uno stato di servaggio risorgere a libertà e prosperità, pari fra i pari, a fianco del popolo di vecchia tradizione unitaria e unitaria, quali le Britanniche, la Germanica e l'Inghilterra. Che spiega perchè Giuseppe Mazzini, le cui opere sono tradotte in quasi tutte le lingue dell'India, è considerato oggi come il profeta del movimento di emancipazione del globo asiatico.

Degli altri pensatori italiani il più conosciuto, dopo Mazzini, è Niccolò Machiavelli; Virgilio e Dante hanno ispirato il più grande epico indiano, Datta, vissuto alla metà del secolo XIX, che conosceva alla perfezione il latino e l'italiano ed ebbe tanta simpatia per i nostri classici da indirizzare dei scritti a Petrarca. Ma egli è il solo che abbia bevuto alle fonti della latinità, dato che lo studio dell'antichità classica è diffuso in India ai pari che nei paesi di civiltà europea.

Occorre dire che il *Millions of Marbo* può far parte del bagaglio intellettuale del più moderato indiano che abbia appena imparato a leggere e a scrivere o senza raccontare qualche cosa delle antiche navigazioni e delle sue peregrinazioni. Negli italiani moderni i più ammirati sono Alessandro Volta e Guglielmo Marconi, per motivi facilmente comprensibili, ma sentite questa: la scienza italiana è invece totalmente sconosciuta. Ma lo non fatto ripetere tre volte per tema d'aver frainteso, tanto la mi pareva incredibile, essendo solo che la musica e il cinematografo per la loro indipendenza dalla lingua e dalle tradizioni locali sono le forme d'arte di più rapida diffusione. E tre volte il cortese intenditore me lo confermò. Sulla riva del Gange, i nostri Verdi, Rossini, Mascagni, Puccini ecc. ecc. sono zero via zero. Avviso a chi tacet in quella valle, vedi caso singolare, la pittura italiana vi è polverizzata, anche vi potrebbe capitare, discorrendo con un indiano colto, di sentirvi fare delle domande imbarazzanti anche su artisti del passato di nostra razza, antichi e moderni, che non sono proprio di quelli che vanno per la maggiore. L'esposizione di acquedotti indiana organizzata agli inizi del 1893 dal Sarkar e da Sarfraz e da Drona diede occasione ai critici di riconoscere in quell'arte l'infuso del primitivismo.

Nel campo della scienza pura, specie in quello della matematica, dell'astronomia, dell'ottica, della microscopia, della en-

An Italian Article

An article in Italian on the surroundings of Bolzano appeared in the *Rivista dell' Alto Adige* for April 1925. The editors published along with it the photograph of a page of the *Banga-bani* (*Voce del Bengala*), Calcutta, in which Mr. Sarkar's accounts of the Adige Valley were printed. Herewith a specimen of the *Rivista* essay: .



Contributions in the Journals of America and Europe.

The following is a list of Mr. Sarkar's papers that have appeared in foreign journals :—

1917, April 14 : "Oriental Culture in Modern Pedagogics" (*School and Society*, New York).

1918, July : "The Futurism of Young Asia" (*International Journal of Ethics*, University of Chicago).

1918, July : "The Influence of India in Modern Western Civilization" (*Journal of Race Development*, Clark University).

1918, November : "Democratic Theories and Republican Institutions in Ancient India" (*American Political Science Review*).

1918, December : "Hindu Political Philosophy" (*Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University, New York).

1919, January : "The Democratic Background of Chinese Culture" (*The Scientific Monthly*, New York).

1919, July : "The Reshaping of the Middle East" (*Journal of Race Development*).

1919, July : "Americanization from the View-point of Young Asia" (*Journal of International Relations*, Clark University).

1919, August : "The Hindu View of Life" (*Open Court*, Chicago).

1919, August : "Hindu Theory of International Relations" (*American Political Science Review*).

1919, November : "Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity" (*Open Court*).

1919, December : "An English History of India" (*Political Science Quarterly*).

1920, April : "Gilde di mestiere e gilde mercantili nell' India antica" (*Giornale degli economisti e rivista di statistica*, Rome).

1920, April : "The Theory of Property, Law and Social Order in Hindu Political Philosophy" (*International Journal of Ethics*).

1920, June : Reviews (*Political Science Quarterly*).

1920, July : "The Joy of Life in Hindu Social Philosophy" (*Asian Review*, Tokyo).

1920, July 3 : "Movements in Young India" (*The Nation*, New York).

1920, July 28 : "Indian Nationalism through the eyes of an English Socialist" (*Freeman*, New York).

1920, August, December : "La Theorie de la constitution dans la philosophie politique hindoue" (*Revue de Synthese Historique*, Paris).

1920, October 13 : "The Leaders of Modern India" (*Freeman*, New York).

1920, October : "The Pen and the Brush in China" (*Asian Review*).

1921, January : "The International Fetters of Young China" (*Journal of International Relations*).

1921, February 26 : "La France et l'Inde" (*L'Intransigeant*, Paris).

1921, March : "The History of Indian Nationalism" (*Political Science Quarterly*).

1921, March : "Hindu Theory of the State" (*Political Science Quarterly*).

1921, July-August : "La democratie hindoue" (*Seances et Travaux de l'Academie des sciences morales et politiques*, Institut de France, Paris).

1921, September : "The Public Finance of Hindu Empires" (*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia).

1922, January : "Die Lebensanschauung des Inders" (*Deutsche Rundschau*, Berlin).

1922, March : "Politische Stroemungen in der indischen Kultur" (*Deutsche Rundschau*).

1922, April : "Die Soziale Philosophie Jung-Indiens" (*Deutsche Rundschau*).

1922, September : "India's Overseas Trade" (*Export and Import Review*, Berlin).

1923, February : "Moderne indische Aquarelle" (*Stimmen des Orients*, Kirchheim-Teck).

1923, August 19 : "Ein deutscher Bericht ueber das heutige Indien" (*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Berlin).

1924, October : Die Industrialisierung Indiens (*Zeitschrift des Vereins Deutscher Ingenieure*, Berlin).

1925, April : "Paessaggio atesina" (*Rivista dell'Alto Adige*, Bolzano).

1925, January : "Die Arbeiter-bewegung in Indien" (*Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, Jena).

The Greetings (September 1925-January 1927)

The Indian interviews and addresses that are being published here represent the latest conclusions on the problems in life and thought at which Mr. Sarkar has arrived as the result of varied experiences and investigations covering, as they do, a period of two decades more than half of which was spent abroad, —in Egypt, China and Japan, as well as Europe and America.

Calcutta,
April 1927

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CHAPTER I.

Cultural Sympathy between East and West*

"I have no political message to deliver. My work has always been purely cultural and I propose to continue in my own fields."

With these words Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar greeted me when I interviewed him at his hotel on Saturday. Mr. Sarkar, who has an attractive and arresting presence and is brimming with ideas, has just returned to India after twelve continuous years of travel. He spoke his mind with perfect assurance and the words in which he conveyed his message embodied the conviction forced upon him by years of study and investigation.

India's Duplicity

Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar proceeded :

"For the present, I should like to formulate my message in some such words as the following : For quite a long time, our patriots and publicists have been encouraging amongst themselves a spirit of duplicity and insincerity in their orientation to Western civilisation. They have failed to be frank enough to admit in so many words that everything that is worth anything in modern and contemporary India is actually a direct product, or the result of assimilation of the spiritual forces that the West has been generating for mankind since the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. Our buildings, our clothing, the modern Indian literature of which we are proud, the philosophical outlook on which is nurtured the manhood of India's celebrities—every item of our social and individual existence is what it is through the impact of the ideas and ideals for which the go-ahead peoples of Eur-America are responsible.

* *Indian Daily Mail*, Bombay, 22 September, 1925.

A challenge to Young India

‘It is time for the Indian intelligentsia to look facts in the face, revise their judgments in regard to the cultural relations between the East and the West and honestly admit what we owe to the creative forces of the New West. My statements can thus but be tantamount to a powerful challenge to Young India.’

Hardly any value in ancient culture.

Q.—Is there, according to you, nothing good in modern India which is derived from our own ancient and medieval culture ?

A.—My answer will be both in the affirmative and the negative. Yes, but only in the sense that some of the greatnesses of the modern West can be traced to the achievements of the ancient and medieval West. No, however, in the sense that neither the inspiration of Greece and Rome nor the contributions of the feudal-catholic epochs have hardly been of any substantial significance in the making of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

East and West identical in spirit

Q.—It will be interesting to know, in this connection, the kind of literary work which you have been doing these twelve years of your foreign travels.

A.—Like every other individual, eastern or western, I began with the postulate that the ideals of the East are different from those of the West.

But intensive investigations, bearing on the varied aspects of world culture from epoch to epoch down to the Renaissance in certain particulars and to the end of the eighteenth century in certain others, have forced me to the conclusion that the alleged distinction between the oriental spirit and the occidental spirit has no foundation in historic and objective fact. During my sojourn in foreign countries, it has been my privilege to be invited by the leading universities, academies and journals of learned societies to lecture and write on just this new standpoint in the interpretation of human civilisation.

Lectures and publications in English, French, and German

Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, it may be mentioned here, has carried on his investigations and delivered lectures in almost every country of importance in Asia, Europe and America. He has during his travels addressed some of the most enlightened bodies in the world. To mention only a few.—Columbia University, Clark University, Amherst College, University of Paris, Royal Asiatic Society (North China Branch), *Societe Asiatique*, *Academie des Beaux Arts*, *Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, University of Berlin, *Deutsche Gesellschaft*, *Deutsche Morgenlaendische Gesellschaft* have invited him to speak on subjects very often specially set by themselves. The British Isles, the U. S. A, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, North Italy, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, North China, Egypt, and the Hawaii Isles are among the countries he visited during his twelve years of travel. He was received everywhere as “a distinguished representative of the intellectual life of the orient” and, in the words of the *Columbia University Institute Bulletin*, as “an authority in the interpretation of Hindu culture from the standpoint of world thought and in the perspective of developments in Europe and America.”

Works in Bengali

Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar speaks and writes French and German and can read Italian for purposes of investigation. He is a great believer in the potency of the mother tongue ; and while he speaks and writes Hindi he has published his studies on world culture in Bengali, and these studies relate to every country he has visited.

Poet of progressivism

Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's spirit of progressivism is daring and is well expressed in a few lines of his *Bliss of a Moment*, which is the title of his volume of poems. Thus,—

“Man that is man is bound to break
And demolish barriers old ;
All human blood, no matter whose,
Seeks to challenge the questions closed.”

He similarly conveys his cosmopolitanism in the following lines :—

“The life of Chaldaean Ur they must live,
They must suck dry Hellas and China’s lore,
Yamato damashii they must absorb
And Eur-America’s most recent finds”.

Value of Mother-tongues

To proceed, however, with the interview, I asked Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar where he intended to spend most of his time and he said :

“I propose to work chiefly in Hindi and Bengali as I have always been an inveterate believer in the importance of our mother tongues as the most effective cultural instrument for India. My connections with the National Council of Education of Bengal, the Panini Academy of Allahabad and Jnanmandal of Benares will, I hope, afford me ample opportunities.”

Promoting International Sympathies

Questioned what his plan of work now will be, Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar stated :—

“Culturally speaking, my work will have one special bias. It will tend, in the first place, to create a more reasonable and sympathetic understanding of Western institutions and theories among my countrymen, and in the second place, to help forward the appreciation of the energetic and constructive tendencies in the character and sentiments of the Indian people among the foreign nations.

Banking in the districts

“But, perhaps, I shall devote most of my time and attention to what appears to be more pressing for our people. My work will lie in the field of economic development. I shall try to single out one or two special branches of this vast problem. The first item that will demand my attention is the promotion of banking-on-small-scale, district by district, with special reference to industry and foreign trade.”

Economic Legislation

“Another domain of my thought and work will be covered by the subject of economic legislation. It is almost an unknown field of social investigation in India, but it seems that the time has come when both theorists and practical men should consciously attempt to grasp the significance of economic legislation for the masses and classes. I shall try to make use of the results of French, Italian, and German experiments in this field in order to attract the attention of some of our creative thinkers.”

A. S. RAJAM.

CHAPTER II.

Cultural Contact Supreme Need for India*

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, the well-known publicist, returned to India on Friday last after twelve years' absence, during which period he visited a number of foreign countries including Egypt, England, Scotland, Ireland, U. S. A., Japan, China, Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland and Italy making a study of the peculiar problems of each of these countries and delivering lectures at University centres. Prof. Sarkar went abroad in 1914, after a brilliant university career in India, as Professor of the National Council of Education, Bengal. Prof. Sarkar has important ideas and plans regarding the economic regeneration of India and intends to devote himself to their realization.

Assimilation of Western Ideas.

The Professor fervently believes that India has a mission worthy of her past and that to fulfil that mission she must send out every year batches of young men abroad to assimilate Western ideas by coming into intimate contact with foreign peoples. So much has he identified himself with this movement, and so much absorbed has he become with the need of culture-contact for India that he could not but talk with passion and enthusiasm to our representative who visited him at Taj Mahal Hotel where he has put up. Prof. Sarkar has written a number of books on international culture and politics and some of them including *Futurism of Young Asia* were highly spoken of in the Press.

Well received everywhere

The brilliant and eloquent professor, when inquired whether he had met with discriminate treatment during his travels said that discrimination might be a matter of labour law

* *Bombay Chronicle*, 23 September 1925.

which existed in a few countries. But it could not be interpreted as an anti-Indian movement in any significant sense, colour prejudice in the U. S. notwithstanding. So far as he himself was concerned Prof. Sarkar said that he had received the best of treatment from every people. He is all admiration especially for the warm hospitality that was extended to him in American and German homes.

Intimate Intermixing with foreign peoples

Asked by our representative whether he had any message to convey to Young India since he returned after a number of years, Prof. Sarkar readily consented to give a short one saying :

“My message is this. The time has come for Young India to think of and lay the foundations of a vigorous and systematic foreign policy. The future of our country will depend on the amount and nature of the intimate intermixing with the greatest nations of the world such as our leading men and women in different walks of life can afford to cultivate, class by class and profession by profession. We are in need of a thorough-going and all-embracing internationalism.”

Absence of Indian Middlemen

Question : Do you mean to say, Mr. Sarkar, that Modern India has all along been rotting in a state of splendid isolation ?

Answer : No. But up till now, speaking in general terms, India's contact with the outside world has been determined by non-Indian agencies. It is under non-Indian guidance and control that the influences of the larger world have been brought to bear upon the developments of life and thought in India. Modern civilization has not reached India through Indian middlemen and Indian channels.

India to function as self-conscious importer of goods and ideas

Q : What then is your idea of foreign policy ?

A : I am pleading for a state of things in which Indians should be able to establish their own agencies in foreign countries in order to investigate on their own responsibility

and import from abroad in an independent manner all that they consider to be useful to India at the present stage of national existence. Instead of waiting for foreign nations to bring their goods and ideas, both material and spiritual, to our doors, it should be the part of our life's creed boldly to venture out into the world, discover which of the inventions, experiments, ideals, politics and laws of different nations are likely to be regarded as worth having, and introduce them to the Indian world through the Indian intermediaries. For, Young India should seek to function as a self-conscious, selective, assimilative and pioneering importer on international exchange.

Wanted Indian Ambassadors and Embassies

Question : • Am I to understand that the Indian agents abroad should function solely as importers? Has India nothing to give to foreigners?

Answer : The foreign policy of which I am talking is not one-sided. It is to include exports from India as well. But these exports, no matter what be their character or worth, are at present mostly in non-Indian hands. Whatever the world happens to know about India is being administered to it by foreign cultural associations, academies, news agencies and propaganda bureaus. Indian exporters of Indian commodities have appeared on the stage but few and far between. The thinkers and workers of our country have now to attend seriously to removing the great gap in our national life. It is time that Indians be in evidence as representatives and agents of modern India in the chief centres of world-intercourse.

Foreign Propaganda.

Q : Do you mean to say that Indians should launch a scheme of political publicity work in the different centres of the world?

Answer : I possess no political experience myself. But I believe that political propaganda conducted by capable Indians in foreign countries (including Great Britain) will not fail to do immense good to India and the British Empire as well as to the cause of world peace. Foreign propaganda is not to be thoughtlessly misunderstood as something identical with anti-British journalism or lecturing outside India.

All-Round Participation in World affairs

Q : On what lines do you suggest that foreign propaganda should be carried on ?

A : "My ideas of foreign policy are not limited to politics alone. I stand for an all-round participation of Young India in world developments from day to-day on all fronts. My internationalism is three-fold: (i) cultural, (ii) economic and (iii) political.

Internationalism, profession by profession

"The masses and classes of Indian population will hardly succeed in advancing their self-interest and achieving mentionable results unless they are in constant and growing touch with the masses and classes of other nations on a footing of equality and at every conceivable point of life's activities. Not only the bankers, agriculturists and factory managers, not only peasants and working men, not only chemists, engineers and medical experts, not only lawyers, publicists, labour leaders and politicians, but poets, painters, musicians, educationists, journalists and members of other arts and crafts as well have need to be conscious internationalists. They will have to live and move as self-determined importers and exporters, each in his own line, both for their own salvation as well as for the uplift of our country."

A manly give-and take

Prof. Sarkar concluding said: "It is internationalism, the spirit of a manly fraternising with other nations, the attitude of a humanistic give and take in regard to the goods and ideals of foreign peoples, the desire and capability to utilise the varied world-forces in the interest of one's own development that will place India on the path of increasing wealth, strength, freedom and democracy."

To organise travels for investigation

Prof. B. K. Sarkar holds strong opinion on the value of international contact and believes that efforts to send batches of young Indians to foreign countries for purposes of assimilation and training should be immediately undertaken. Mr. Sarkar has a plan which he proposes to work out during his stay in India.

CHAPTER III.

Foreign Policy of Young India*

The editorial discussion in the *Bombay Chronicle* of September 24 on my statements *re* the "Foreign Policy of Young India" published along with the interview in the issue of the 23rd is a critical and suggestive contribution to the problem. But one or two items need clarification. Hence the following lines.

Economic and Political Factors

1. The editorial points out that economic and political forces constitute some of the "salient factors" in international relations. Quite so. My internationalism is not one-sided or monistic enough to ignore them, as every reader would have noticed. The life's scheme propounded in the interview is quite encyclopaedic. It need be remarked that the statements can by no means mislead one into the belief that I was talking of "culture-contact," pure and simple.

Internationalism not opposed to nationalism

2. My concept of internationalism appears to have been misunderstood in the editorial. From the interview itself one could not come to the notion that my internationalism is equivalent to a world-fédération, "world-opinion" or "civilised conscience" etc. It cannot possibly be arrayed against "nationalism", whatever this latter may mean. It stands for nothing more than the "utilisation of the varied world-forces in the interest of one's own development." Young India need not, therefore, be nervous over the term internationalism as used by myself.

How to Solve the Fundamental Problem

3. The editorial has its philosophical foundations in the belief that "till we attain strength through unification and

* Article in the *Bombay Chronicle*, 26 September, 1925

liberation" a foreign policy is more or less out of the question. One reads as follows : "It is the political subordination of India which prevents any other subject from reaching the people." Again, "we do not think any intimate or useful contact (with foreign peoples) is possible without a solution of the fundamental problem of Indian freedom."

There is no doubt that many great things can be accomplished during periods of national independence or, say, after a subject people has attained freedom. This should be regarded as a first postulate.

Foreign Policy a powerful means

But I venture still to submit that whatever be the "fundamental problem" for India—be it Swaraj of any denomination or any other conceivable political system within or without the British Empire—the conscious and steady cultivation of foreign relations by Indians individually as well as collectively is one of the most powerful agencies in the solution of that problem itself. Foreign policy is no less a necessity for Young India than rural service, co-operative agriculture, scientific research, promotion of banking, and extirpation of malaria.

Swaraj through world-forces

If India happened to lose her Swaraj, freedom, sovereignty and what not through the conjuncture of world-forces (1757-1857) it is through the same conjuncture that she is likely to reconquer it. The world was a unified whole in those days. It continues to be a unified whole and more so to-day. No scheme of life's values can realise itself in a state of isolation. Whether the Swaraj that India wins be of the Canadian type or of the Japanese type it will be won as a by-product of world-politics like the Czecho-Slovakian and Polish freedoms.

Question of Proportion

Foreign policy, be it remembered, is but one of the many items in a nation's complete programme of public activities. The time, energies, and funds of the nation require, therefore, to be so distributed that a certain percentage—no matter what—be ear-marked for the purpose.

The long-neglected Problem

Besides, Indians are shrewd, practical and realistic enough not to defer all questions of health, wealth, education and so forth until Swaraj, freedom, political independence etc. be won. Swaraj or no Swaraj, they have been working for whatever they consider to be important for daily existence even when it happens to be nothing more than a mere hand to mouth affair. Under these conditions, not to work for the promotion of international relations and "participation in world-developments" can but be an index to apathy or absence of knowledge regarding the value of the subject.

It was but my intention to direct the attention of our countrymen to an item of national welfare that has been ignored too long.

CHAPTER IV.

Impressions of Bombay*

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who left for Benares after a "ten-days" stay in Bombay, was interviewed by a representative of the *Bombay Chronicle* before he left.

Much behind foreign cities

Questioned about his impressions of the city, Prof. Sarkar said that having been used to European and American standards of city-administration for quite a long time, it seemed to him that Bombay was much behind Western cities of the same rank in cleanliness and general sanitary measures. The distinction that one saw between the different sections of the city in this regard was hardly to be met with in England, France, Germany, America and even Japan. To a foreigner, specially to one belonging to a progressive country the distinction would certainly appear to be very unfavourable to Indian character.

Wasting time over non-essentials.

Q.—Do you notice any change in the attitude of our people since you left India?

A.—I have not been able to come in contact with more than a very limited number of individuals and institutions. It seems to me that our people very often waste time over discussions which should normally appear to be not very serious. In certain sections, I have noticed a tendency to argue solely for argument's sake. They are worse than what are generally condemned as "Die-hards." This tendency is noticeable not only among the elders, but also among the youngsters. Our intellectual atmosphere is to a great extent vitiated by such perversity or obstinacy.

* *Bombay Chronicle*, 6 October, 1925.

Evidences of a new spirit

But I have also come in touch with certain other sections, both young and old, in which liberalism and the desire to remain open-minded happen to be the prevailing features. Some of the younger intellectuals have been displaying a great amount of restlessness and are in earnest for new interpretations of life.

Labour Crisis.

Asked if he had watched the labour crisis and its consequences, Prof. Sarkar replied that the closing of the factories was certainly a tremendous fact of the day. The standpoint of the working men on all such questions was generally well-known.

Liberal thinking among mill-owners and publicists

But certain interesting features in the mentality of the employers and mill-owning classes had arrested his attention. He found that there were certain enlightened individuals among the proprietors who believed, generally speaking, in the legitimacy of the demands of labour. They were indeed willing also to approach the labour point of view in a way of practical sympathy. Among the publicists also the same tendency was noticeable. But how far these tendencies were to be depended on for a solution, on a large scale, of the labour problem was more than he could say.

Independence of labour leaders

Questioned if he had noticed anything particular about the labour movements in the city, Prof. Sarkar said that it seemed to him that the trade-union organizations could count upon the practical support of the proprietors such as described above. But all the same, the labour leaders had been working independently of such extraneous help.

Good record in social service

Q.—In this connection what do you think of the social-service activities ?

A.—I find that these activities have grown considerably since I saw them last about 14 years ago. Good work has been done for educational, recreational, sanitary and other purposes. The example of Bombay might be followed up by other cities with advantage and I think the patriotic workers from the different parts of India might come to this city for investigation into the methods of work.

Philanthropy hated by poorer classes

Of course, social service is no solution of the labour crisis. It is, after all, an aspect of philanthropy and charity. And the poorer classes, the working men and the depressed orders are refusing more and more to be regarded as objects of charity. But still as long as the social and economic situation remains what it is, social service organizations must be started by the idealists belonging to the financial and intellectual classes.

Co-Operative Banking

Q.—I understand that you are interested in the promotion of banking on a small scale, district by district. Have you been able to derive some suggestions from this city in the course of your investigations ?

A.—Certainly. I noticed that co-operative banking has been developing fast in Bombay. I am not speaking here of agricultural banking on co-operative lines, but of banking confined to city areas. These urban co-operative banks have a great future in India, because they are suited to the requirements of people with limited means.

Government aid a necessity

But here I must emphasise the fact that people interested in the promotion of banking of this sort must be prepared to appeal to Government for assistance. Nationalists will have to recognise that in certain problems of economic development co-operation with Government is an absolute necessity.

The Central Bank of India

Q.—What is your opinion about the progress made by the Central Bank of India ?

A.—I have watched its progress in the statistics and reports published by the Bank from time to time ; and I made it a point also during my presence in the city to visit the institution and make the acquaintance of Mr. Pochkhanawalla, the Managing Director.

Technical Problems in Small Banking

I have discussed with him several important questions bearing on the promotion of banking. For instance, to what extent is a small bank in the districts economically feasible ? Another question of importance bearing on this problem was whether an independent small bank was more desirable than a branch office of the great banks. Mr. Pochkhanawalla has helped me with suggestions which are likely to be useful in my work.

Organising home savings

I have visited the various departments. I have also come to learn that the Bank has started an institution in order to promote small savings in the home, and several thousand families have been taking advantage of this measure.

A School of banking

The Bank also possesses a lecture department which is being managed by an Indian graduate of the Harvard University of America. Its object is to offer theoretical courses, with demonstrations and practical illustrations, to the members of the staff.

An Indian-manned Concern

Every employee of the Bank is an Indian. I have been told that small trading concerns run by Indians have been deriving considerable facilities at this Bank.

Cooperation with Government indispensable

Questioned as to what place he would assign to Governmental assistance in a comprehensive programme of economic development, Prof. Sarkar replied that the help of the Government would have to be sought in almost every item that was considered essential in the scheme of economic develop-

ment. For certain purposes, said he, we need special economic legislation ; and grant-in-aid from Government, provincial or local, corporations and district boards, will be required for new industries, industrial research as well as technical and commercial schools in the districts, and so on.

Foreign Capital a great help

Q.—Have you followed the enquiries conducted by the Committee on the import of external capital ?

A.—To a certain extent, yes. I myself am a firm believer in the importance and necessity of foreign capital for our economic development. For a certain number of years, at any rate, I am convinced that India cannot go ahead economically or culturally, unless our businessmen and statesmen be prepared to encourage the import of capital from abroad. This would mean that foreign banking institutions will have to be regarded by us with more or less friendly eyes as calculated to foster some of our own interests. Of course, when I use the word "foreign", I take it for granted that British capital will be the preponderant element, although I should also advise our countrymen to seek financial and banking assistance from other countries that are in a position to co-operate with us.

"Educative" use of foreign capital

Q.—But don't you think that on this question you are going against the prevailing nationalist ideas ?

A.—Perhaps I am. At any rate it appears to me that the problems of economic and cultural development that face us at the present moment can best be solved by methods which are more or less in conflict with the methods of our orthodox political nationalists. I must, however, admit that the import of foreign capital that I advocate is to be temporary, and should be looked upon as "educative" for our budding capitalists and industrial pioneers. For instance, among our Indian bankers, financiers and captains of industry, many leading men have risen to the position that they occupy to-day through previous periods of probation as mere "second-fiddles" in foreign establishments.

India's own Capital

Lest one should misunderstand me it is necessary to add that I am vitally interested also in the development of India herself as a capital power. It is in order to organize the capital resources and savings of our own countrymen under purely Indian auspices that I am anxious to promote the establishment of banks in the *mofussil* centres as well as create the interest of our intellectuals in the study of banking in theory and technique.

Bengalis in Bombay

Asked about the Bengalis in Bombay Prof. Sarkar said that he was surprised at the great increase in their number. He was glad that they had three associations for social intercourse among themselves. He had occasion to attend a drama in Bengali staged by one of these associations at the Gaiety Theatre and he was delighted to see many Gujaratis and Deccanis among the audience. This indicated that the Bengali language was also to a certain extent understood so far away from Bengal.

In these days, Indian publicists had been talking much of unity ; and Prof. Sarkar thought that one of the greatest agencies in the promotion of this unity between the different races of India was the study of one another's languages. Among the Bengalis here he had found a few who could understand Gujarati and Marathi. He would have been happier if their number had been larger.

CHAPTER V.

India's National Regeneration*

Travels and Studies

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who has returned to India after an absence of nearly 12 years, was interviewed by our representative on Tuesday morning at 'Anand Bhawan' where he was a guest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The professor who is a reputed research scholar in economics visited during this period several foreign countries including Egypt, England, Scotland, Ireland, China, Japan, the United States of America, Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland and Italy. He has made a deep study of the peculiar problems of each of these countries and delivered special lectures on invitation at important university and academic centers. He delivered lectures in the highest universities of America, France and Germany. The lectures in France and Germany were delivered in French and German respectively. He also studied the Italian language for purposes of research.

Invited to the French Academies

The professor had the unique distinction of being one of the few Asians who have had the honour of being invited by the *Academie des Beaux-Arts* and the *Academie des Sciences morales et politiques*, two reputed literary institutions of very ancient fame in France. It would appear that the members of these bodies are called the 'Immortals' and are only 40 in number. Hindu aesthetics and Hindu democracy were the subjects of his lectures. It is of much interest to note in this connection that the Tamil Sangam of Madura, an identical academy in South India, is about 1500 years older than either of these two institutions. The professor is by no means new to the readers of the *Leader*. A number of reviews of his books as well as some of his articles have been published by us.

Investigations in Post-war Economics

'My previous work', said Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, 'lay specially in the field of comparative culture-history and

* *Leader*, Allahabad, 30 October 1925.

sociology. But for the last five years I have been specialising in the problems of post-war economic development.

Replying as to what he intended to do hereafter, he stated that his work in India would be a continuation of this work. He wanted to devote his chief attention to two things : firstly, to the subject of economic legislation, and, secondly, to the questions connected with banking in theory and practice with special reference to Indian conditions.

To introduce German, French and Italian in economic research

The professor added it would be his endeavour to create among the scholars a taste for original investigation based on German, French and Italian studies. The object was to expand our intellectual horizon and compare notes with the findings from English and American sources to which we are generally used.

Western civilization not decaying

"For the present," he remarked, "I should like to say something on an altogether different subject. It is likely to be of some significance to Young India. Of late, there has grown up a suspicion in certain sections in India that Western civilization is perhaps nearing extinction, or, at any rate, a great cataclysm. In my judgment this is an absolutely erroneous way of looking at things. On the contrary, it has appeared to me that momentous factors of a far-reaching constructive character are to be found in the civilization of Europe and America.

The "New" Primary Education

"To give a few instances : education is being made compulsory and free for every young man and woman up to the age of 18 in all the progressive countries of the West.

Research Institutes

"Scientific and industrial research of a very high grade is being promoted under State or private auspices on a very extensive scale in the universities, workshops and special laboratories. This fact is going to have a very deep significance in the spiritual life of the next two decades.

\Shop-councils

"In factory management the right of the working men to govern the conditions of production through shop-councils has been legalized in certain countries. Employers and the intellectual leaders are no longer to be in a position to monopolize the direction and government of business concerns.

Special land-legislation

"The owners of small landed estates and landless labourers are being looked after by the State through special land legislation which is directly and consciously calculated to deprive to a considerable extent the larger owners of their legal right to their own possessions. Great Britain has been attempting the same legislation in this direction and deriving benefit from the experiences of Germany and Denmark.

Insurance

"The working-men's insurance is becoming one of the inevitable items in the minimum of State functions.

Nationality-problem

"The nationality problems have received a somewhat satisfactory solution in almost all countries with the exception of half a dozen lands where the German minorities have been compelled to become parts of alien states that have been newly created.

Triumph of Socialism

"The virtual capture of the states by Socialists and the different denominations of labour parties is creating a type of democracy, the like of which was never witnessed in history."

India's advance not considerable

Turning to the question of India, the Professor observed ;—
 "Compared to all this progress achieved in Europe and America I should say that the results attained by the Indian masses and classes do not amount to much. We must always place before our eyes the world-standard in regard to the actual growth of mankind as well as the possibilities of its development.

The next five years of Young India

"The world expects that India should be able to accomplish during the next five years at least as much as she has accomplished during the previous 20 years,—all along the line. It is only then that the rate of progress worthy of a great evolution can be maintained.

Our achievements third-rate

"By the world-standard Young India's greatest men, institutions and movements continue still to be third-rate or fourth-rate in quality, quantity and variety. Let us be bold enough to face the objective realities without camouflage and refuse to be hoodwinked by metaphysical nonsense into ascribing to ourselves of today and to our forefathers the glories and achievements to which we have no genuine claim."

Intensive Propaganda

Our representative next invited the Professor to give his opinion on the need of the hour and he said: "The time is ripe for commencing an intensive work in every field—cultural, economic and political. The work should proceed district by district. As far as possible the district organizations should function independently of one another and uncontrolled by the metropolitan leaders and institutions."

Disunion not a weakness

"One should not, besides, be frightened by disunions and diversities, no matter of what character, in the aims and methods of public associations. We must not make a fetish of unity but must be ready to encounter full-blooded life in all its complications and divergences.

Politics not the only field

"Not less than 60 per cent of the ablest workers should be available for the non-political services. Young India cannot afford to be obsessed by politics. The enthusiasm and earnestness of our activists have need to be well distributed along the varied lines of national enterprise.

The problem of district leaders

“Every district will have to be prepared to find ways and means for regularly getting its own leaders equipped for the different branches of public life. The question of trained experts for work in the fields of general culture and economic development has likewise assumed national proportions. The absence of a large number of efficient scholars and thinkers has already turned out to be a tremendous handicap in our progress towards the higher world-achievements.”

Expert Training not available in India

“Do you think,” interrupted our representative, “that expert training is available in our country?”

“No”; replied, Mr. Sarkar, “It must be remembered that the highest training for the services, political or non-political, is not available in India. The existing Indian laboratories, workshops, museums, galleries and libraries are too poorly furnished and equipped, both in man-power and materials, to be capable of sending out real pioneers such as may take charge of the world tomorrow. Funds should be forthcoming to send experienced scholars and publicists of some standing—say, between the ages of 28 and 32—to foreign countries for purposes of travel, investigation and international intercourse.

The budget of a public association

“No organization is worth anything that neglects to set apart 1-10th of its normal resources for the re-education of its workers. Experts do not grow. They require to be manufactured.”

The need of a higher standard

In conclusion, the professor said : “A higher and a more sceptical standard of judgment in regard to the thoughts and activities of our publicists and scholars has to be deliberately adopted by us as creators and critics for this coming quinquennium. And Young India should make up its mind to revise the categories of life that have obtained during two decades. We have to be on the look out for new slogans and articles of faith.

An objective methodology the desideratum

“ One of the greatest needs of the hour is the emancipation of our intellect from the tyranny of platitudes. The despotism of words that have ceased to mean anything must also have to be subverted in the interest of life's rejuvenescence and vigour. The entire logical apparatus of India's national existence requires a comprehensive overhauling.

The values of the Head and the Hand to be recognised

“ *Bhakti* (devotion) can certainly lead to the attainment of great results. But disinterestedness and the spirit of self-sacrifice alone cannot accomplish miracles. The strength of the head as well as the strength of the hand are important factors. To minimize them or to overlook their place in a life's scheme can but be synonymous with courting moral inefficiency or spiritual bankruptcy.”

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar has left for Lucknow.

CHAPTER VI.

Is Europe Doomed ?

In the premises of the new palatial buildings at Jadavpur the students of the Bengal Technical Institute received in a perfect oriental fashion Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, a former Professor of the Institution, yesterday at 2-30 p. m. The whole compound of the College was packed up practically by young and ardent admirers of the Professor impatiently waiting to hear his message. Sm Sarala Devi Chaudhurani presided over the function.

Prof. Sarkar in the course of his address said that it was to investigate where the world stood to-day from the economic point of view that he went abroad. His principal study was economics and the present-day world problems. As a student of economics he had naturally to study the conditions of industries, factory-life, banking, agriculture and other departments of human activities in the foreign lands.

The West denounced by Western Writers

Continuing, the Professor said that during the war time a notion on the authority of Romain Rolland and other European writers was gaining ground in India, that the European civilisation was doomed and India had to send her representatives to rescue the West. But he said the sponsors of this view forgot totally that behind the drawbacks of the European civilisation that were emphasised by these thinkers there was a positive record of practical experience. Europe after years of strenuous experiments with her civilisation, her agriculture, industry, Swaraj and democracy, was now allowing these defects to be perceptible to the gaze of the outside world, but still struggling to discover a solution, in the hope that a newer and a more beautiful civilisation might emerge out of her present condition.

Indians not competent to join in the same denunciation

A section of Indian opinion unfortunately lost sight of this

* *Forward*, Calcutta, 17 December, 1925 (Report based on the address delivered in Bengali).

important point. Indians were under the notion that when European thinkers were denouncing their own civilisation India ought not to imitate it. But these Indian scholars failed to realise that the place wherefrom European idealists were denouncing their present civilisation was still far ahead of India's and that she would be justified to think light of that civilisation and to discard it as an unclean thing, if only she could ever reach the limit already attained by Europe but not before that.

New Forces in Western Civilization

Professor Sarkar then spoke of compulsory education that had come into force in Germany, America, England and other European countries by which every one, male or female, under 18 years of age was bound by legislation to receive education. Could India, he asked, compete with a country, a sweeper or even the lowest menial of which had got some degree of "higher" and technical education?

Referring to the industrial concerns, factories, banking and other branches of economic life in each of which Europe was steadily advancing, the speaker said that in all these spheres of human activity the spiritual life of Europe was also getting purified.

Democracy in Austrian Factories

Speaking of the labour question Prof. Sarkar said that in Austria in 1918, the year in which India was under the idea that the fate of European civilisation was sealed, a legislation was framed by which a certain percentage of the labourers engaged in every factory were to be taken in the directorate of that concern.

The Economics of Widowhood

After referring to the land question with which Europe was confronted Prof. Sarkar referred to the problem of widowhood. He said that to a considerable extent widowhood meant nothing but poverty. In India the Government granted pension to the employee during his life time. But Europe had not forgotten the family of the employed. After his death the widow of the deceased until her death and the children of the family until each of them attained a certain age were entitled to a pension and to a status almost equal to what the deceased enjoyed.

Let us understand where we stand

Concluding, Prof. Sarkar remarked that the opinion that Europe was plunging handlong towards perdition or for that matter that its civilisatton was doomed was something like a cant and hyprocrisy. "Let us recognise our incapacity and let us understand where we stand and then proceed to lay the foundation-stone of Young India full of hope and confidence. but not to cover our inefficiency under the pretext that the grapes are sour."

A silver casket containing the address given by the students was presented to the Professor. The guests were treated to light refreshments.

CHAPTER VII.

Tendencies of Modern Indian

Artists *

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal opened yesterday the seventeenth Annual Exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Art at the Hindustan Buildings. Amongst those present on the occasion were Maharaja Tagore, Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, Maharaj Kumar of Darbhanga, Sir J. C. Bose, Mr. and Mrs. P. Brown, Mrs. A. N. Chaudhuri, Lady Stephenson, Mrs. Buckland, Mrs. R. C. Bonnerjee, Mrs. B. L. Mitter and Messrs. N. Gupta, T. P. Ghosh, J. P. Ganguli Gaganendranath Tagore, Dr. Van Mannen and the Consul Generals of Italy and Spain.

Our representative, who went to see the Exhibition had a talk with Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who was also there. At his request Prof. Sarkar expressed his views about the tendencies of modern artists in India. He said he had not yet formed any definite opinion about the present exhibits. However he said that "practically speaking, those workers who are not bound by old conventions have been able to display much creative spirit."

When asked about the reason for his remark like that Prof. Sarkar took our representative to the picture No. 13, drawn by Sj. Durgashankar Bhattacharya. The name of the picture was "Story of the Unseen land."

An Original Theme

"It is only an execution in the conventional spirit," said he, "although the legend is original and fresh. The central piece consists of four figures in different corners of a square form made of bamboo rafts". The pose in the act of catching fish is quite noteworthy. The forms of the two boats have added to the piece some amount of colour and have served also to contribute a contrast to the yellow rafts.

* *Forward*, Calcutta, 19 December 1925. See also *Rupam*, June, 1926.

Attempt to be mystical

“But the artist has deliberately attempted a number of what he seems to consider to be “mystic” lines. To the observers, however, these attempts appear to be vague and meaningless. The total absence of a background of any sort is a technique that can hardly excite one’s interest under ordinary conditions of treatment. Perhaps the painter believes that by placing the central piece in such an unoccupied and empty space he is continuing the “tradition” of ancient and medieval Oriental artists. And perhaps this is why he calls his work “unseen land.”

A Failure

“It is clear of course that Mr. Bhattacharya has not taken the subject matter from anything known in art-history. To that extent he is undoubtedly free and unhampered. But although not handicapped in theme he has chosen to experiment with the so-called mystical handling. The result is disappointing. He has failed to create the atmosphere of the infinite in spite of the negation of the background. It must be admitted, however, that the artist has skill in drawing and possesses the sense of colour.”

Pauranic Subjects

“The pieces which deal with Pauranic story and mythological or religious history, continued Professor Sarkar, are invariably defective. The artists have tried to be true to the tradition but succeeded in becoming mere imitators without a vital message.

New Times

Thus whether the treatment or the subject be traditional, the result is in both cases unencouraging. But so far as the present exhibition is concerned, I should say that it is not mainly a collection of ancient and medieval subjects or styles. And this is a happy sign of the times. A change in outlook is noticeable among the artists.

Certain Artists true to Themselves

“Now let us see some of those workers,” said Mr. Sarkar, “who deal with things in which they themselves happen to be

interested in their daily lives and who have cared to be true to themselves in stead of trying to 'reproduce' the ancient spirit as it is called. Take the *Joy of Rains* (No 82) by A. K. Majumdar. It has been executed in a very dexterous manner.

Success in Plastic Creations

"In the first place, the colour-scheme in it is made up of different shades of blue. Secondly, the peculiar form of the bungalow cottage of Bengal, the oblique sides of its thatched roofs as well as its angularities have been enriched with the round concave of an umbrella shape over the bent figure of a young boy. The whitish figures of moving ducks have brought into relief the dusky atmosphere of a rainy day.

"There is no conscious effort on the part of the artist to play the Indian or the Bengali. But all the same he has succeeded in contributing a nice quota to our form-sense. He has been able to create a plastic joy, so to say. It is a piece of sincere art.

Juxtaposition of Varied Forms and Colours

"In the like manner is No 80 by the same artist to be appreciated. Here, again, we have a really creative composition. To begin with, the piece is not monotonous. The uniformity of the blue has been broken in upon by dots of whitish flower forms as well as swarms of flying birds. Further, the artistic effect is heightened by an expanse of greenish surface which cuts the background in an uneven, rough manner. Two boat-forms we see in parallel positions, and the human figures, erect as they are, form transverse parallels to the former. And their combined effect on the entire grouping is that of wealth in heterogeneity.

"The boats, again, have acquired prominence on account of the red streaks. These latter, moreover, are to be seen distributed in different sections. Altogether we have here all the delights that the juxtaposition of varied forms and colours can offer to the eye.

"The success of this artist as contrasted with the failure of the two mentioned above is, I think, chiefly to be attributed to the absolute repudiation of the 'ancients.'"

Essentials in a Work of Art

Q. Do you mean to say that it is impossible to achieve greatness when one deals with ancient subjects or attempts to follow the methods of the old masters?

A. No, it is not impossible. I am only speaking of the tendencies to be found in the present exhibition. If you know how to divide the space, which colours to mix and in what proportions, how to distribute the forms, and what use to make of the background, you can be a great artist even although you borrow your theme from the ancients or even although you deliberately try to catch their technique. I am just going to give you an instance of such success and analyse the essential elements in its make-up.

“Rome’s Rival” Analysed

Mr. Sarkar turned to No 113 (“Rome’s Rival”) by Abanindra Nath Tagore and said as follows:

“Probably it is a Christian scene,—the figure of some saint, may be, Christ himself. The author has sought to call up the atmosphere of monasticism which you may even call Buddhist or Christian, if you please. The influence of the ancients is quite palpable. But,—and this is a speciality,—the artist’s workmanship does not consist in a mere attempt to be true to what older mystics have drawn.

“The author of this piece is not a copyist. He has command over the *methodology* of the makers of the old frescoes. At the very first glance, indeed, every observer will notice in it the marks of the great ‘primitives’. You have the bold arms and the vigorous human figure. By the bye, this is rather exceptional with the present artist whose brush, as a rule, is used to the softer, more delicate and gentler touches.

“The halo is not wanting in the background. The staff, a long, almost vertical piece, seized with the right hand bent in a lifted posture, has delightfully broken the space and added to the majesty of the composition. A dignity characteristic of the ‘heroic ages,’ we may say.

Command over the Technique of Space-management

“But wherein, outside of these elements, lies the grandeur of this composition? I am inclined to think that the basic

dignity in this work lies in the manner in which the artist has filled up three-fourths of the entire surface, from top to bottom, with the bulky yet simple figure of a human being. The very height and weight of the shape as apparent in the milieu of the space constitute the marvel of the workmanship. The artist is an expert in space management ”

The piece was analysed more minutely and the interviewer got such remarks as the following :—

“Deep brown drapery flowing from the neck in a magnificent manner covers, properly speaking, the entire space. This indeed is the very soul of the present technique. There remains but slight uncovered surface to the right and the left.

“The not very loud grey of the face has been placed in an environment of equally mild tints of colour. The three or four touches of bold blue in the halo have served to offer a pleasing contrast to the generally soft colour-scheme of the entire work.

“The gentleness of the hues does not fail to tell a significant story to the eyes. We do not wait to inquire how the figure has been named by the artist. A piece like this might have a natural place in a collection of the Tang and Sung masterpieces of medieval China.”

Sculpturesque Qualities of Colour-work

Then Professor Sarkar turned to pictures Nos 150, 152 etc drawn by Sunayani Deyi. “These are some of the new forms,” said he, ‘with which our art-world is being enriched. There are four or five human forms in different poses. The artist has got an admirable conception of structure.

“The shapes perhaps would not be enjoyed by those who form their aesthetic sense on the strength of the experiences of physiognomy culled from their every-day life. Sunayani Devi’s faces might even be described as outlandish or archaic by persons used to the normal standard.

“But the figures display in their workmanship a sculptural solidity of remarkable character. And this has been produced by the manipulation of different degrees of whitish or black and white colour. The artist’s brush has manufactured a liquid flow of grey marble, as it were. A soft idyllic and

lyrical quality is the characteristic charm of her studies in the plastic possibilities of colour."

Futuristic Paintings

Interrupting himself Mr. Sarkar said: "Perhaps I am doing injustice to many good works that are exhibited here by attempting this bird's eye view in such a hurried manner. But I am talking only of certain special features that have attracted my attention in these few minutes. I cannot, however, bid you good bye before I draw your attention to the pictures 133 and 135."

These exhibits are known as "The deserted house tells its owner's fate" and "Captive light." The artist is Gaganendra Nath Tagore.

"The titles," remarked Mr. Sarkar, "are mysterious no doubt. The artist has chosen to be frankly mystical, at any rate, in description. But there is hardly anything mystifying in the works themselves.

Formless Forms

"Ostensibly, the painter has given us some houses. But nobody would be prepared to believe that these are house-forms at all. One may not object to believing, at the utmost, that one is perhaps here in the presence of brick or stone structures. No stereotyped architectural design is there, nothing to connect it with the familiar forms of masonry work, much to the discomfiture of the contractors and engineers. From this standpoint one would not be wrong if one were to believe that a mystical something is in sight. Indeed one might go to the extreme and remark that there does not seem to be anything in the line of conventional forms except only a few touches at different points."

"And yet I believe", said Mr. Sarkar, "that a lover of art will find in these formless forms of absolutely no historical or racial context some of the most vitalizing colour-compositions and architectonic expressions. The blue and white of 133 and the red and blue of 135 exhibit delightful varieties of structural colour-design of moderately large sizes. There is plenty of nourishing food here for the student of aesthetics.

“Pure Art”

“Even without being able fully to understand what forms lie before our eyes according to the recognized canons of the objective world we feel that the shapes have been placed alongside of one another in symmetrical and harmonious groups. I should invite all art-critics and lovers of art to begin with such specimens as object lessons in ‘pure art’.

“It is in such compositions, thoroughly futuristic as they are, that we begin to appreciate, without the scaffolding of legends, stories, messages and moralizings, the foundations of genuine artistic sense. This artist certainly is a creator of new forms which no doubt have a great message to the souls that thirst for new creation.”

CHAPTER VIII

India's Economic Problems *

Wanted 1905 over again

"I want the 1905 India back again", was the message that Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar delivered on Sunday last to his ex-students and other gentlemen who assembled in the courtyard in front of the main building of Bengal Technical Institute, in order to meet Prof. and Mrs. Sarkar and Dr. and Mrs. Hiralal Roy.

Prof. Sarkar said that since he landed in Bombay he had made a short tour to some places in India but everywhere it seemed to him that the pulsation of the nation had been stopped. After such a sweeping and maddening movement that was witnessed in the country in 1919 and 1922, it was inconceivable why such should be the state of the country so soon. But it was, said Prof. Sarkar, quite natural and he thought that a great reaction had come. And it was for this reason that he wanted back the spirit of the age of 1905.

An Era of Iron Resolution

Referring to the characteristic spirit which was visible at that time and which many men with many minds had interpreted and were still interpreting in many ways, Prof. Sarkar said that according to him the India of 1905 was not in any way essentially superior to any period of previous India. The intellectual upheaval, for instance, was not of a higher order than in the previous stages of the country. But it was the first time when India took up the resolve to think in a new way—the grim determination that India would introduce something which was not in India before. If such an iron resolution found place in the national mind to-day he believed it was quite possible for Young India to work wonders in the next five years.

* *Forward*, 20 December 1925 (Report based on the Bengali address).

The Fallacy of "Back to Land"

After observing that the aim and mission of his life was, and was going to be in future, to help the country to attain economic salvation, the Professor observed that in order to achieve that salvation some wrong conceptions and notions should be forthwith removed. For instance, he said that appeal was being made by every class of thinkers of the country from poets to professors that as India was an agricultural country educated India must take to farming. There was no country, said Prof. Sarkar, on the surface of the globe where such things were practically possible. France once tried this thing when the same kind of appeal was made, with the ultimate result that those who were educated and came out from the Agricultural Colleges with brilliant results only wanted to secure Government services and were reluctant to handle personally the plough.

For the educated and the so-called Bhadralok classes the shibboleth of "back to land" would turn out, in the main, said he, to a mere wordy campaign and at best a chimerical venture.

Agriculture must have to be relieved of the superfluous cultivators

The Professor's view on the point was just the opposite and most revolutionary. Far from asking the educated class to go to the land he would even ask the cultivators themselves to leave aside the profession,—until a certain percentage of the people, in proportion to the land available, was in charge of the whole land so that that percentage of the people might live comfortably.

Citing an instance from the district of Benares where 40 men and 40 cows lived on the produce of 40 bighas of land he said that he would leave only eight to ten persons to cultivate these 40 bighas, who, in his opinion, with even the primitive instruments, could do as much work as 40 men. He would employ the remaining 30 men in the arts and crafts. These industrial occupations and the allied commercial pursuits would transform the rural centres into urban complexes. In fact, in place of each village he would build up a town.

The Problem of Birth Control

In this connection the professor remarked that theories (if not already broached in the country) would shortly come, in which one would ask for the restriction of the growth of population in proportion to the cost and standard of living. The problem of birth control will have to be dispassionately faced by those who are convinced that agriculture must have to be relieved in as many ways as possible of the "superfluous" cultivators.

Village Reconstruction

The next point Prof. Sarkar referred to was village reconstruction or "Palli-Sanskar". In his opinion village reconstruction was possible when the so-called villages were extinct and in their places towns were built. The name village or "Palli" was of long standing, but asked the professor, could any one say that behind the name "Palli" there was the same substance as was conveyed by the term, say, 150 or 300 years ago? So none need grudge if in places of villages towns with external communications and relations were built up. In fact, there was no internal strength in any village in any part of the globe. Today the whole world was present in the remotest hamlet.

World-Economy

No village anywhere, even in India, was self-sufficient. 'Rural,' 'urban' and even 'national' economies had ceased to exist. It was the world-market that governed the most elementary life in the primitivest villages. The entire world was economically and culturally a more or less unified whole. Nobody could do without the world-forces. Everywhere the productive and distributive functions of human beings were being governed by *Weltwirtschaft* or as the Americans would call it, by "world-economy". For instance, said the Professor, if the big and large American, Manchester, German and Japanese mills were stopped one day, the jute cultivators of Bengal would suffer terribly. Similarly, if the jute cultivation was stopped the people of those countries would suffer and terribly too.

Enthusiasm for the New World-Order

These ideas, observed the Professor, were perhaps revolutionary and it was for this reason that he wanted the age of the 1905 India over again. That was an age characterised by a new freedom of thought and soul-emancipating dare-devil idealism. The revival of that spirit of strenuous exertions and energistic optimism, is all that is needed in order to enable the national mind and the pioneers of a new India to embrace with enthusiasm the radical ideas embodied in the new world-order.

Factory and Cottage Industry

Referring to cottage and factory industries, Prof. Sarkar remarked that the time had not yet come for casting India's views in favour of either of the two. There was place for both. From the standpoint of practical finance it was impossible for India at the present stage of her economic evolution to attempt anything more than "small" and "middling" enterprises in industry, banking and foreign trade. He could not characterise the *charka* movement as exclusively a sentimental movement. But if in the place of compelling 300 millions of people to talk of handling or even handle the *charka* India had seen 300 engineers and other technical experts engaging their heads to produce a better type of *charka* than the one already in vogue for centuries he would have called it a genuine and effective economic movement. In fact, he would like 300 engineers or so to take up the next step in the textile line and thus render the *charka* a real auxiliary in the scheme of our presentday economic development. Situated as we were, the *charka* could still serve the teeming millions, or at any rate, thousands in the villages side by side with the factories and workshops, large or small.

The Problem of Foreign Trade

The Swadeshi movement, observed the Professor, was defective in some respects. It gave rise to the establishment of many industrial concerns, but it seemed to ignore the claims of trade and commerce. This trade and commerce especially in regard to export and import involved millions of rupees. In regard to foreign trade, with its banking and shipping

problems, the country was virtually indifferent. He wanted the establishment of at least 10 banks in every district and 20 more in Calcutta, and he believed that the required capital was in the country.

The Organization of Capital

By referring to how without banking facilities trade was handicapped and the transactions were being exploited by the people of other countries which India could easily appropriate to herself, the Professor concluded by asking those assembled to seriously ponder over the establishment of credit institutions on sound business-like basis. Without an effective banking organization capable of concentrating and mobilizing the capital resources of the country there was no possibility left before India of developing her trades and industries and solving the poverty problem of the people.

CHAPTER IX.

Economic Development for India

Economic Movement as an independent item in national life

"I want to emancipate economic development from the thralldom of current politics and political parties." These were the words which Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar said in reply to the query of our representative, who had an interview with him yesterday (Monday), as to what would be his course of action in the near future.

Continuing, the Professor said: "The economic regeneration of India should receive my first and foremost attention. I propose to harness all my energies in this direction. Banking, Economic Legislation and Technical Education, these three items will constitute one complex in my program of thought and activity. And I propose to hold before the eyes of our countrymen the latest developments made in Italy, France, Germany etc."

Three types of intellect

For the present I am going to start a monthly journal in Bengali under the title *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Development). This journal is to serve as a common platform on which three types of intellect can co-operate, viz. (1) men who are pioneering the industrial, trading and agricultural enterprises, (2) men employed in public administration in higher grades and (3) professors of economics, banking etc. etc."

A Bengali Journal of Economics

Asked as to what was going to be the exact type of his journal the Professor said:

"It would be a monthly journal, in Bengali, of economics (theoretical and applied), the applications of industrial research and scientific inventions, social welfare and material progress."

* *Amrita Basar Patrika*, Calcutta, 22 January, 1926.

Asked as to what would be the object of the journal Mr. Sarkar said that the journal would function as an organ of banking, foreign trade, money-market, insurance, industrialization, agricultural enterprises, railway and shipping economics, public finance, economic legislation, national health, technical education, municipal administration and other civic interests.

Economic News-Service

We understand the journal will have mainly 5 sections. Section 1. will deal with the "wealth of Bengal" profession by profession. The data would be furnished by the reports of correspondents specially employed for the purpose. The standard of life prevailing among cultivators, artisans, fishers, boatmen, leather-workers, weavers, shop-keepers, merchants, land-owners, exporters and importers, industrial workers, sailors, clerks, directors and founders of modern industries, banks and other business establishments, all classes of the Bengali population—would be the main theme of these statistical and objective investigations; Section 2. will deal with the agricultural, manufacturing and commercial activities of India excluding Bengal but including the Indian states;

Section 3. will deal with the "economic developments of the world." It will seek to interpret the movements in foreign finance, industries and commerce to the Indian businessmen and economists. India's opportunities for co-operation with foreigners in all spheres of international trade and investment constitute likewise a special subject of study. The facts of "world-economy" involving, as they do, the intimate interdependence of India and the other countries in regard to economic function and material welfare will be placed before the readers in the form of a regular news-service. Section 4. will deal with the movements and pronouncements of the world's prominent bankers, captains of industry, engineers, chemists, experts in technical, commercial and agricultural education, statisticians, economists, finance-ministers and so forth. The programmes of learned societies, business men's associations, and bankers' institutes fall within this section.

And Section 5. will be given over to "interviews" with specialists on problems of applied economics and economic thought.

In all these sections *Arthik Unnati*, although a monthly, intends to acquire the dynamic character of a weekly or even a daily newspaper.

Bibliography of Economics

Among the special features of the journal may be mentioned the following :—

1. A tabular statement of the contents (with occasional synopsis) of the economic, financial, export-import, statistical and allied journals in the Indian and foreign languages (including French, German, Italian, and whenever possible, Russian, Japanese and Turkish).
2. A serial announcement of Indian and foreign books on economics; banking, commerce, technical education and all other branches of material and social welfare.
3. Reviews of books.

Economic Doctrines

At least fifty per cent of the monthly, we understand, will devote itself to essays and discussions of permanent value bearing on the methods and problems of the economic sciences. Bengali translations or summaries of the views and theories of foreign economists of the present or preceding generations will also form a marked characteristic of this journal.

CHAPTER X.

Economics and Journalism *

The only thing of any importance that I am going to say this afternoon is that not every body that is invited to speak is a public speaker. And my limitations are manifold. In the first place, I have never been a journalist. I may be a reader of journals and may have edited a commercial magazine for some time, but I am not a journalist in the strictest sense of the term. In the second place, it has not been convenient for me to take part in politics in any manner, direct or indirect, in party politics or controversial politics of any sort.

Un-metaphysical Realities

And thirdly, just those subjects in which our countrymen, our patriots, our nationalists, our statesmen seem to be interested the most are unfortunately the subjects in which my interest is almost nil. If it were possible for me to say that we people of India or rather the nations of Asia are destined to civilize the peoples of Europe and America I believe that every one of you present here and most of my countrymen would consider that I was making a profound statement.

My countrymen are as a rule willing only to listen to such stories as have their *Leitmotif* in the idea that western civilization is the civilization of machines. Our countrymen, generally speaking, are not prepared to recognise the humanity of the Eur-American men and women. If, for instance, I were to say that the men and women of India are morally and spiritually superior to the men and women of Europe and America I believe most of you would at once applaud me and say, "here is a great philosopher indeed!"

Items like this are the farthest removed from my investigations and even from my imagination. My brain is made of

* Short-hand summary of a lecture delivered at the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, on January 24, 1926 under the auspices of the Indian Journalists' Association.

sterner stuff. There is absolutely nothing of metaphysics and speculative abstraction in my thoughts and activities. And as I said, just those topics for which my countrymen display the greatest enthusiasm happen to be the subjects in which I myself am the poorest. So I shall not be surprised if you are disappointed with me this afternoon.

Every man an Economist

It seems to me, however, that there are certain things in which you and I may have something in common, although most of my countrymen and perhaps many of you present here are great philosophers and metaphysicians. Perhaps you may not object to believing that there is such a thing as bread and butter, and I believe that you and my countrymen in general are not prepared to neglect this bread and butter question in human relations. So far as I am concerned, let me confess that there is no other thing that has possessed my mind more powerfully than this economic question.

You are interested in rising prices, I am also interested in them. You are interested in vital statistics, You are interested in every thing that has a bearing on your individual and domestic welfare, I am no less interested therein. And although I may not be a philosopher such as might be appreciated in India in her present moods there is at least one little touch which perhaps may create sympathy between yourselves, as well as myself.

Gentlemen, every human being is an economist. The man in the street has certain opinions in regard to taxes, in regard to railway rates and so on. And so I wonder if, after all, there is anything on which I could enlighten you this afternoon.

Current Tendencies in Economics

You are students of economics and as journalists certainly I take it for granted that you have been studying contemporary economic tendencies quite keenly. It will perhaps be superfluous to inform you that the contemporary economist is not interested in mere abstract problems. To-day the student of economics visits factories, measures the acreage of land under cultivation, counts the number of

cultivators in the villages, studies the longevity of the infants, investigates the conditions of the working class, of the *bustee* and so on and so on. Economic treatises of recent years in French, in Italian, in German, in English have been devoting a greater and greater number of pages to the description of statistical facts and first-hand investigations bearing on factories, to the annual reports of banks and export-import houses and such like things. Economists of to-day take interest in problems relating to the relation between work, physical exertion or fatigue and efficiency. Students of economics are discussing the food values of things consumed by the labouring class, by the student community, by the middle class and so on.

Triumph of the Historical School

In other words, every man who is in the least interested in economic problems or economic investigations approaches this subject in a manner almost entirely different from that in which economists are said to have approached their problems, say, about three or four decades ago. If I am allowed to use one abstract word I should say that economics has become "intensive" and has become humanized, has become realistic. If I may use a still more abstract and generalized term I may say that "socialism" has invaded and invaded successfully the whole domain of economic science. This is the state at which you and I, economists, journalists, statisticians and so forth, find themselves at the present moment, namely, the conquest of economics by socialism. If I might use an academic expression in this connection perhaps I might say that the dream of the "historical school" has at last been fulfilled. For, it is the historical school or historical method of investigation in economic science that has been displaying its most prominent results before our very eyes.

Persistence of the Classical School

But although the historical school, although socialism is so preponderant and has been making conquests in every field of economic endeavour and every region of economic speculation I pause here and ask you to consider if this so-called historical school has been able to contribute a single truth of solid significance to the science of economics. My

position on this question is very decided and very emphatic. In spite of the undisputed conquests of socialism in theory and practice in economics as well as in politics, to-day in 1926 I venture still to assert, that whatever may be its contributions to sociology and interpretation of history, socialism as such has failed to contribute a single thought of substantial importance to the *science* of economics. Economics as such, economics as science continues to be governed to-day as it was a generation or two ago by the old, we may call it medieval, "classical" school. Our old friend Ricardo and his "economic man", those century-old categories, continue still to govern the laws of economic science.

The Problem of Value

In other words, the controversy between the classical school and the historical school has been closed, and so far as the present-day conditions are concerned, has been closed in favour of the classical school. The thought of every economic investigator, of every theorist who has to deal with the problem of value is in all essentials thoroughly Ricardian, or shall I call it? neo-Ricardian. Because, after all, when you come down to the fundamentals of economic thought what is it that you are supremely concerned with? Not with fatigue, not with longevity, not with the food-values, not with the labour conditions but fundamentally with only one thing, namely, the problem of value. And to this problem the contribution of socialism or whatever name we may choose to give it is virtually nil. Speaking in terms of race, if such a racial distinction in the realm of economic theory is allowable, it is to be admitted that in the dispute, British vs. German school, it is the British that still obtains in scientific speculations. This is however a controversial question and I need not deal with it any more.

The War-Monies

Take the problem of money. You are aware how during the war, in England, in Germany, in France, as well as in Italy, in all warring countries especially on the continent money as a thing that one used to know ceased to exist. It was nothing but paper, and paper without metallic cover the one could see. The printing press manufactured paper-noats

and these were accepted by every body without any objection in all transactions. The absence of metallic substance did not interfere with the people's conceptions of money.

• Knapp's Revolutionary Theory

Now about ten years previous to the War, in 1905, a German Professor, F. Knapp published *Die staatliche Theorie des Geldes*. In this book he set the question "Why is it that certain substances are called money and are recognised as such?" And he replied thus: "Money is money because the Government calls it so. That is all. Money has no value in itself. There is no commodity that could be described as the unit of value, or that might merit the character of a standard of measurement. And yet certain things pass for money."

The only explanation in Knapp's estimation is that it is the society, it is the social recognition, it is the community, it is the popular will, known as the state or organised in the state that calls a substance money. And in a characteristic manner, very epigrammatically he says that money has validity but no value.

The War came and the nations of Europe recognised the importance and were convinced of the value of Knapp's revolutionary teachings, for his prophecy seemed fulfilled to the last letter. Indeed in those days there was no money. Nowhere was there any gold, any silver, any metallic substance in the exchange relations on the market. Yet civilization was not extinct, the Governments existed, people were making payments while purchasing goods, people were accepting paper. One might say that in the world of economics people had said "*Hari Bol*" to money. Money actually came to a state at which it had validity but no value.

Post-War "Back to Gold"

The War was over. Every body began to think of financial reconstruction and currency reconstruction. And the first country which started the reconstruction,—which country do you believe?—curiously enough, it was Bolshevik Russia that started the post-war monetary reconstruction of Europe, set the ball rolling back towards metal! How has the rouble been re-established? how has the Mark been

re-established? how has the pound been re-established? Not on the theory of Knapp, not on the theory of any "nominalist" to the effect that money is nothing but a sign, but on the old, again the old classical, "quantitative" theory of money, namely, metals and nothing but metals. And now we in India too are trying to tie ourselves down back to gold.

Altogether, then, where do we find ourselves to-day in 1926? In spite of the revolutionary theory in regard to money and in spite of the war-time and post-war experiences of a revolutionary character, the world has gone back to the old metallistic, very solid metallistic, the classical theory of money. The solid sense of mankind is not yet tutored enough to accept anything as money except a ringing clinking piece of metal, or at any rate, its proxy. Again our friend Ricardo. Economics as science refuses to get loose from its classical moorings. Classicism dies hard. We are already on another debatable ground.

Cooperative Credit

Not less controversial than the current economic theories are the problems of applied economics or economic development.

In regard to India let us take the question of co-operation. I am not talking of the present non-co-operation *vs* co-operation in matters political. I am talking of the simple, familiar, economic co-operation, to be more precise, co-operative credit such as has been prevalent among the agricultural classes in every part of the world for about two generations.

I know that co-operation, co-operative agricultural credit has failed to inspire the enthusiasm of our patriots and nationalists. There has throughout been a suspicion among our countrymen all these twenty years or so to the effect that some how or other the Government is trying to do something mysterious, some *tukmuk* with the agricultural class by inculcating among the cultivators the principles of co-operative credit. Our countrymen have failed to explain exactly where the mystery lies and yet the suspicion is there. And without rhyme or reason the impression has got abroad that there must be something wrong with co-operative credit as such.

At any rate, it has not become as popular as it might otherwise be.

Now, gentlemen, I may ask you a very pertinent question. The question is this :- "Is co-operative credit useful to the people of India to a certain extent and for certain purposes?" If so, those patriots who are talking of village reconstruction should try to find out as to how to make use of this instrument of welfare. And if it is already there initiated by the Government it would be unwise on the part of the patriots to ignore its achievements or utilise the results accomplished. I need not discuss it any further.

Foreign Capital

Take, again, the problem of foreign capital. Because there is the word "foreign" our patriots and nationalists find something essentially wrong in it. Our *Svadeshi* sense revolts against it automatically. But here, again, let me ask you :—"How much of modern India, how much of this city of Calcutta, for instance, owes to indigenous Indian capital, to our own initiative, to our own resources? and how much of the middle class to-day, how much of the intellectuals of India, of Bengal, to come nearer home, owe their bread and butter to foreign capital and to foreign business organization?"

To this my answer is definite. Perhaps fifty, nay, seventy five per cent of our present-day wealth and culture, both material and spiritual, we owe to foreign resources. And I believe that in the near future it is foreign capital, primarily British capital that is going to help the middle class in the first place, and the working men in the second place. And in the third place it is going to relieve the agricultural centres of Bengal of their teeming millions by creating new careers for them in the industries.

Just as co-operative credit is one of the greatest forces that you can possibly conceive of as an agency to uplift the villagers, exactly in the same manner it is with foreign capital that we can hope to cope with unemployment that is a prominent feature of our economic life all along the line. However humiliating it might be to our national self-respect,

yet under the present circumstances I am quite prepared to swallow foreign capital for a certain number of years.

Commission on Agriculture

Let us take now the proposed Royal Commission on Agriculture. It was announced in the papers two or three days ago and I notice that our patriots, our statesmen and publicists have been suspecting something mysterious which the Government is alleged to be doing in order to wean away the people from their "natural leaders". Some 300,000 members of the middle class, including women, children, and old persons, are supposed to be the natural leaders, of, say, 50 millions of Bengalis!

Now, we have been told that the Government intends to create a breach between the so-called leaders and the masses. But, gentlemen, as I said, my brain is made of sterner stuff. It is impossible for me to swallow anything and everything. I should say that a commission is a commission and an inquiry is an inquiry.

And every body admits that inquiries have to be instituted into the agricultural conditions of the peasants of Bengal and other parts of India. Suppose certain items, namely, the legal, have not been included in the terms of reference, and, in the second place, suppose that by improving the agriculture of India Great Britain also derives some benefit, what's the harm?

We have been told seriously by very responsible leaders that England is trying to improve the lot of millions and millions of our people not in order to improve our conditions but with the object of relieving unemployment among the British working classes. Wonderful logic! Let that be so. Gentlemen, but the chief question for us is: Does the measure have any loopholes by which we also can make some profit?

Take an instance from trade and commerce. In every commercial transaction both parties derive benefits. When I want to sell some thing to you, you will buy it only when you know that you are going to derive some benefit. There is no doubt that I want to derive some profit also. But just because of this are you going to chuck me out

although the transaction is beneficial to you at the same time? Every piece of internal trading, every export and import is carried on on this mutualistic basis.

An Objective Method of Approach

On that principle I ask,—“If England obtains some benefit by the proposed Commission what's the harm to India?” I do not see in it anything unnatural, anything sinister which might justify us in condemning or boycotting the Commission. The question for us is to inquire whether some of the profits are likely to be enjoyed by several hundreds or thousands or millions of our own people.

If anything, as has been recognised, India also is to be benefited by the labours of the Commission. The very prospect of Great Britain gaining something out of the transaction can therefore be no excuse for our denouncing it. Like practical business men the people of India must welcome anything and everything that brings some substantial benefit to the country, no matter if others also profit by it at the same time.

That is the objective and positive way of looking at things. It bespeaks neither prudence nor patriotism always to suspect some mysterious, under-hand dealing in every proposition coming from the side of the Government. This sort of nervousness on the part of our journalists and public men is utterly regrettable, to say the least. Neither the peasants nor the workingmen are likely to have any respect for the intelligence and statesmanship of the “natural leaders”, should these latter continue to display their talents in this manner for any length of time.

Relations between Journalists and Economists

I do not intend to tread any more on such contentious grounds. I have already taken too much of your time by referring to controversial matters which really lie outside the scope of my talk. My subject this evening is neither economic theory nor economic development. My subject, if I may so call it, is of a “formal” character. The question I propose to discuss may be thus worded: “To what extent have the economists and journalists of India helped each

when he gets there certain journals from home, when he reads them and sees the kind of news produced in the papers of those Western cities, and when he compares these latter with the journals of Calcutta or Bombay what can be his impression? He does not feel much inspired by his home-stuff in spite of his patriotism.

Calcutta Improvement Trust

I may single out one or two concrete instances. After twelve years when I found myself first at Esplanade, I noticed that there was an immense boulevard running in Calcutta from south to north with stately buildings constructed or in process of construction on both sides. It was a terrible surprise to me, a huge street, men and women engaged in either repairs or new constructions. Certainly this is a new thing in the city, but in the course of twelve years I do not remember to have seen anything in the dailies, weeklies or monthlies of Bengal. I have never noticed a single news item or a single reporter's story,—which might point to the fact that Calcutta was actually undergoing tremendous changes.

I may inquire to-day, does this fact constitute an item of economics or not? and does this news have a claim upon journals or not? A city is being repaired or being re-built—is not that a news of economic importance? Is not the reconstruction of a city an economic problem? From the fact that there have been going on so many changes it is quite clear that groups of architects and builders, both Indian and foreign, must have been flourishing during this period. Hundreds of individuals must have grown fat in the mean time. The executions of this Improvement Trust must have been promoting the architectural as well as engineering trades in Calcutta. Does not all this affect the life of the Bengali citizen, of Bengal's working men and women, the material condition of the middle class of Bengal? With a little economic sense one can easily understand that this affects the lives of, if not thousands, at least, hundreds of families in Calcutta and outside in Bengal.

I am discussing the rebuilding of the city not from the aesthetic and architectural but from the economic standpoint, namely, to what extent this affects the engineering of Bengal, the business capacity and business potentialities of the

Bengalis and to what extent it has served to give living to hundreds of families in Bengal. Can not the readers expect discussion on such topics in the great dailies of Calcutta? I repeat, therefore, that Indian journals, so far as economics is concerned, are unrepresentative in character. The journals have failed to photograph, to portray, in a realistic manner, the industries and trades that have sprung up in and around Calcutta during the last twelve years.

High Prices of Fish

Municipal reconstruction is a very important item. I shall now take a more modest item, the consumption of fish. It is a very small item no doubt but to us, people of Bengal, it is not an insignificant item of economic life. Fish forms one of the principal elements in the dietary of the Bengali people. For the last three or four weeks I have been visiting the fish markets and I have come to know that certain fish sells at one seer per Rupee. Evidently a very high price. And the question at once arises, is the same number of people consuming fish at the present day as, say, a decade ago? or is it that new families that did not eat fish twelve years ago have begun eating now, thus adding to the demand? Besides, who knows if the families that could afford to eat fish twelve years ago are still in a position to do so?

The rise in price is a fact, but this fact is bound up with innumerable other facts in the daily life, the daily tastes, the daily demands of our people. Certain conditions may have been created in the money market which perhaps makes it impossible for the older families to maintain the same standard of living as before. It may even be that a higher standard of living has become prevalent among certain altogether new families. Thus considered, no matter from what stand-point, we are in the midst of an accomplished social, shall we call it class?—revolution.

Now, what have the journals done to bring home to their readers the processes—slow but steady—that have marked this revolution? The journals that would function as representative organs would send their reporters to the markets to find out what class of people are consuming fish, to which kinds of families the servants that come to the market belong, and so on. One does not have to be a precise statistician

in order to watch these phenomena. With no uncommon objective sense it is quite possible for a journalist to study the changes in the character of the population of Calcutta as evidenced in the consumption of the primary articles of food. I repeat, therefore, that Indian journals are unrepresentative.

Bengali Exporters and Importers

I have been in Calcutta only five or six weeks. The number of visitors and letters that I have received in this short time is large. Many of these visitors and letter-writers are business men. They have been engaged in export and import trade for the last 10 or 12 years or more. There must be many others of this type whom I have not been able to touch. On enquiry I have been able to ascertain that this foreign trade is the source of steady income that ranges from Rs. 250 to Rs. 1000 per month to quite a large number of young Bengalis.

It has appeared to me that the lives and activities of these Bengalis, their struggles and aspirations, the difficulties in their way could be very interestingly depicted in the news columns of journals. Is it not the duty of journalists to find out how a new commerce is being created in Bengal and has been growing up before our very eyes ?

These young Bengalis have been making solid contributions to the intellect and professional life of the community. They do not constitute any effervescence, any mere *swadeshi* agitation or wordy propaganda. Solid stuff as they are, they represent a fundamental change in the outlook, in the grasp of life, in the realistic sense of Bengali manhood.

But it is curious that during all these years of my sojourn abroad I have never come across any news, any paragraph saying that certain Bengalis engaged in foreign trade, say, with Japan or England or Germany or America have been experiencing such and such difficulties. One might expect newspapers reporting that Indian insurance societies or banking institutions have become an absolute necessity in order to promote and protect the business interests of the Bengalis who have been carrying on trade with foreign countries. But Indian journals do not represent the growing life and ambitions of the Bengali people.

Propaganda among Jute-growers

Export and import, you may argue, although not quite rightly, do not constitute an important factor in Bengali life. Take, then, jute, which certainly is something great. And we may ask, "what have the journalists done to enlighten the readers in regard to the periodical changes in the fortunes of this important item in Bengali economic life?" An attempt is alleged to have been made by some of our leaders, I do not know exactly, but at any rate it was mentioned in the papers, to reduce the amount of jute under cultivation. I do not know to what extent the attempt took material shape and with what success, but this is a fact.

• Suppose I were a journalist what should I have done? I would have gone to those villages or sent somebody to those spots where the propagandists were at work inducing the cultivators to reduce the cultivation. I would not only have reported the speeches and activities of the propagandists but also the inevitable warm reception given by the cultivators with *lathis* (cudgels). For it seems to me that the lectures to the cultivators to the effect that they should reduce cultivation of jute without any corresponding measures to organize their marketing power could not have been greeted with anything but *lathiousadhi* (*argumentum ad baculum*).

If I were a journalist and, if I were a representative man, if I were a democrat and if I were a "natural leader" too, that aspect of the propaganda among jute-growers should not and would not have escaped me and I am sure to have reported it. But Indian journals are not representative enough.

Khaddar Economics

Now take the *khaddar* and *charka* movement. I believe that the movement has proved to be useful both as a political as well as a moral weapon. The lecturers and propagandists have rendered immense service to the country by constantly harping on the *khaddar* and the *charka*. But the economic aspect of the thing, so useful to the people, has hardly received the attention it deserves in the columns of journals. Is there any journal, daily, monthly or weekly, except perhaps the ones belonging to the propaganda itself,

which has tried to report on those families that have taken to *charka* or produced *khaddar* and thereby have been able to add to their incomes ?

The proposition is quite simple. If so much *khaddar* is being sold, as I have been noticing every where, in Bombay, Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow and Calcutta, so much must have been produced. It could have been produced only under certain conditions, namely, either some of those people who had been in the spinning or weaving industry have got a tremendous fillip on account of the new movements, or families that were not used to spinning or weaving must have found it a paying proposition to take to these new lines. Now, when there is a market ready and when producers are there we can expect but one consequence. The producers must have been making money, must have been becoming prosperous, or at any rate, must have been enriched to a certain extent. But where are the dailies, weeklies etc to furnish us with news in regard to the actual changes that are likely to have taken place in the standard of living, whatever be their worth, as a result of the production of *khaddar* by the cultivators ?

Khaddarists or non-Khaddarists, swarajists or non-descriptors, all journalists could have enlightened their readers with knowledge regarding the developments of this new source of income in these days of chronic unemployment. One does not have to be a spinner or weaver by profession in order to be able to report that the introduction of *charka* or production of *khaddar* has brought some financial relief to a certain number of people.

What is Economic Journalism ?

Gentlemen, it is not my intention to inflict upon you a lecture which is virtually tantamount to an impeachment of Indian journalism. Perhaps my knowledge is very limited. I have seen only parts and therefore can say only but parts. I have communicated to you my impression and it is for the journalists to refute me.

I may go on mentioning, item by item, along the same lines but perhaps I have already told you enough of unpleasant truths. It is only necessary to add that economic journalism does not imply writing harangues on agriculture, manufacture

and commerce or publishing editorial lectures on economic ideals, visions and dreams. I do not say that life should be devoid of ideals, that there should be no play of imagination in our writings. I am not for curbing in any way the growth of personality. I may be quite objective and realistic in my view point. But my objective sense does not deny the utility and dynamic significance of idealism.

All that I want to announce is that economic journalism would consist chiefly in describing realistically, item by item, all the little incidents that constitute the life, the growth and the developments of the different professional, occupational or functional groups of the population. The activities of the different economic orders that make the community naturally form the subject matter of the economic news-service that I am speaking of. I am looking for a sound and healthy appreciation among journalists of those smallest particulars that constitute the complex entity called life.

Profession by Profession

I have used the word 'professional groups', and I want to stick to it. Journalists, who care to do justice to the economic interests of the people will have to approach the problems of life function by function, profession by profession, group by group. For all practical purposes there is hardly any thing as the nation. A nation is an abstraction. But there is such a thing as the peasant, there is such a thing as the agricultural labourer. There is the jotdar, there is the aratdar, there is the boatman. There are clerks, school masters, industrial workers, bankers, Zemin'dars and so on.

"Why this sort of fine distinctions?" one may ask, "are we not all brothers? We Bengalis are all brethren, we Indians are all brethren". My answer is as follows: The interests and problems of the different professional or occupational groups are not always identical. They may very often be different and conflicting. To ignore these differences would be to ignore the truth. Let me give you certain instances from Europe.

Agriculture vs. Manufacture in Italy

In Italy, today, as the *Corriere della Sera*. (Milan) reports it, the problem of a commercial treaty with Germany

is being studied by the industrial and agricultural classes in two entirely different spirits. The Italian manufacturers are anxious lest the terms of the treaty should be so favourable to Germany as to enable her without difficulty to export the manufactured goods and successfully compete with the Italian articles on the Italian market. The manufacturing classes are therefore advising the Italian Government to establish high rates of tariff.

But the cultivators of Italy have quite the contrary propositions. What they care for especially is an extensive foreign outlet for the food-stuffs and other articles of raw produce. To them Germany appears in the light of a good friend, as one who can absorb much of their exports. They want the Italian government therefore to coax the Germans in such a manner as to induce them to be friendly to the imports from Italy.

The question of Germans as competitors, such as perplexes the Italian manufacturers, does not touch the Italian agriculturists in the least. Rather, in the estimation of these latter, German-made goods are less costly and better in quality than their own *swadeshi* goods. Altogether, one notices from the daily reports in the paper that the agricultural and manufacturing interests of Italy are almost diametrically opposed to each other.

Public Finance in France

The financial difficulties of France are well known in India as elsewhere. You are aware how ministry after ministry has been falling on the question of ways and means. And why? Because the proposals of finance ministers are not getting the support of more than a very limited number of parties, sections or groups.

The *Journee Industrielle* (Paris) reports that the office of the present finance-minister, M. Loucheur, is being inundated with suggestions and proposals from every nook and corner of the country. And these are not all of the same piece. Today the *chambre syndicale des metaux* is interviewing him with an advice. Tomorrow there are exchanges of views with the chambers of commerce, regional or national. The groups of banking unions from the northern or

southern districts have certain things to say. Now is the *association des commerçants détaillants* (association of retail dealers) to remain without a word on the vexed questions from its own standpoint.

Interests Conflicting in spite of Freedom

Italy is an independent, sovereign country. So also is France. But the mere fact of freedom cannot hide the fact that such a thing as "country's welfare" or "national good" hardly exists in the mentality of the inhabitants. The interests are diverse, multiform and heterogeneous.

On every economic issue in these countries there are myriads of conflicting proposals. Every piece of economic legislation has to undergo modifications in order to meet the requirements of hundreds of different interests. On each occasion the problem is to organize a system that is likely to be the least harmful to the greatest number of interests.

Cultivators vs. Industrial Workers in Bavaria

The facts of such pluralistic life in the economic world I noticed in Bavaria also, while I was travelling in the Isar Valley about a year and a half ago. One did not have to be any specially gifted agricultural expert to find out that the regions of Southern Germany were wonderfully prosperous. Almost every house in the villages and smaller cities was new, and not a single house belonging to the farmers seemed to be owned by needy or poverty-stricken people. I observed the men and women working on the farm from "sunrise to dewy eve", a picture of hard and strenuous labour rewarded with rich harvests of variegated hues. And the meals taken by the cultivating families were conspicuous in number (five times a day) as well as quite substantial in stuff.

Naturally, as an external observer I felt greatly inspired by such sights of plenty and prosperity. But it was not long before I received a shock. I happened to come into contact with several working men and I had to listen on various occasions to such stories as the following: "Yes, agriculture is flourishing in Germany. The cultivators have grown fat. They have built new houses. They are

living in palaces, one may say. But do you know the reason? Recent German legislation has been exceptionally favourable to the agricultural classes. It has been the policy of the government to place the main brunt of taxation on industry. The factory owners are not in a position to operate their works. The factories are working part-time and working men have been thrown out of employment."

One may, then, ask, "is it always safe to postulate the happiness or opulence of the industrial workers where the agricultural classes are happy or opulent, and *vice versa*?" Bavaria's case should afford a warning against the facile way of discussing the so-called "national interests" in a unitary manner. And one should be careful not to go away with the pleasant thought that all the classes of population are becoming equally rich on account of a certain measure or certain policy of economic development.

Journalism on Functional Basis

If, then, we in India wish to represent all the varied interests we have to make distinctions. The country will have to be approached, class by class, group by group, function by function, profession by profession. It will not do to begin life with the postulate that whatever is good to the Zemindars is likely to be good also to the tenants. Nor can we afford not to believe that in very many cases the working men and women cannot see eye to eye with their employers, Indian or foreign.

Nay, there are many occasions when the *majur*, *shramik* or the workingmen are likely to have nothing in common with the *kishan*, *chashi* or the peasants. It is not safe, socially and economically, to take the labourers and cultivators as constituting one class with a united complex of interests. We should be prepared for situations in which the *majur* and the *kishan* do not belong to one and the same party.

It will not be helping the solution of economic issues by practising an ostrich-like indifference or shyness to these divergences. In the interest of genuine democracy our journalism will have to address itself to the economic questions, whether taxation or currency matters, on functional, professional, class basis.

Reorganization of the Brain Stuff

One word more. Gentlemen, what we need most in India today is the reorganization of our brain stuff. It appears to me that the brains of a considerable section of India are at the present moment full of metaphysical platitudes. We have to come down to the earthly earth and grapple with the facts of life, dull, prosaic and muddy as it is. "

We have to learn to say and must have to practise the courage to say in so many words that a spade is a spade and nothing more. It is high time, for us to refuse believing that India is the *guru* of mankind, to refuse believing,—within closed doors!—that the men and women of India are superior to the men and women of Eur-America. Further, the time has come when we should be bold enough to declare without vagueness that the men and women of Eur-America to-day are morally, intellectually, aye, spiritually far above the men and women of Asia.

The courage to face realities is all that is needed in our countrymen. The brain-stuff of Young India cannot be reconstructed without strong doses of this courage.

We need likewise strong doses of objective sense such as may enable Indian, patriots and statesmen, students of philosophy and social science, business men, industrialists and others to cultivate a keen interest in the trifling common-places of the hour and yet appreciate them as different feeders of the momentous complex known as national welfare. A great future can be built up not by practising blindness to the weaknesses of our individual and national character but by frankly admitting them and trying to lay the foundations of a new edifice on this positive knowledge regarding the actualities that surround us. Journalists have no mean part to play in this intellectual and spiritual reconstruction that Young India needs so badly at the present moment.

CHAPTER XI.

India and Western Countries*

Interviewed by *Forward* Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar gave an interesting account of his views on and the experience of the different countries that he had visited in course of the last twelve years. His views will throw a new light on the mentality and attitude of the foreign powers towards India.

America and India

As Prof. Sarkar lived in America for a considerable number of years, he was asked :

Q : What are the economic consequences of the War on America ?

A : The War has given America a tremendous push as an economic power ; culturally also America has in recent years risen high in the estimation of the continent of Europe.

Q : Can you give an exact idea of the present attitude of the Americans towards India ?

A : So far as Indian Labour Immigration is concerned it is a closed question. But both American Government as well as the public are positively friendly to travellers, merchants, investigators and "bona fide" students of India. Responsible people in India should fully realise that America is not hostile to Indians as such. It would be a great mistake to believe that Indians are regarded as undesirables in the United States of America. On the other hand, Indians of all classes should make it a point to visit America in larger numbers and exploit the results of American experiments in democracy, social organisation, propaganda methods, industrial development and popular education with a view to making them available for India.

Indian Institutes Abroad

Q : What do you think about the possibility of establishing cultural exchange between India and the world ?

A : That modern India is a growing cultural power is being dimly felt by the intellectuals in America, France, Germany and other countries. But a definite picture of the contemporary developments in India is lacking among these peoples. I have often been advised by the highest scientific and educational authorities in these countries to urge upon the financiers and patriots of my country the necessity and importance of establishing Indian Institutes of Arts and Sciences at the leading culture-centres of the world. To give an instance, should certain Indian intellectuals be provided with financial support they will be heartily welcome as Visiting Professors at the Universities of America, France and Germany.

Foreign Attitude to Indian Politics

Q : How do Americans, French and Germans view the political aspirations of Indians ?

A : They are more and more getting used to the thought that India will in no distant future acquire the same legal and political status in the comity of nations as Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Objectively speaking, the League of Nations has been helping forward, although cynics might say, unconsciously perhaps, this consummation.

The Land Systems of Europe

Q : Have you ever looked into the agricultural conditions of any country you have visited ? and which country do you consider most instructive for India from the stand point of the land-system ?

A : In certain parts of Italy the land tenure is identical with the Zemindari system of India and the economic condition of the peasants is anything but desirable. France is a country of small peasant-proprietors. The trend of economic thought and legislation in Europe is to favour the French system. The problem in Europe has been to effect the transition from the Zemindari to the peasant-proprietorship and in this transition, the most remarkable results have been achieved by Germany. Denmark has followed the German land legislation. Great Britain has recently been trying to learn of Denmark and Germany. For India, therefore, to-day, the most useful countries for investigation are Germany and

Denmark. In regard to America, Indians can take her as a teacher in at least in one line, and that is the organisation of agricultural producers' combine.

India in the Scale of Civilization

Q : How do you regard India's cultural position in comparison with the countries you have visited ?

A : In reply to this question, I should ignore for the present the fact that India is a subject country. But otherwise it is possible to establish a scale of civilisation in which the relative position of the different nations may be concretely demonstrated. There is a tendency in certain quarters to believe that Great Britain is on the descending curve. My impression is quite otherwise. Germany and the United States are certainly two rising cultural and economic factors in the world. But for all practical purposes, these two countries together with England constitute a trio of the first class. To the same rank, but perhaps slightly lower in the scale, belongs France. In my judgment, it is these four nations that are creating the civilization of the contemporary world. I am excluding here the little states like Switzerland, Belgium and Scandinavian countries as being small. But they are by no means of second grade.

The next class, continued the Professor, in the scale is constituted by three countries which, however, superficially should be regarded as having hardly anything in common with one another. These are Italy, Japan, and Russia. The problem in each of these countries is to catch up to the industrialism of the first class and bid final adieu to the lingering vestiges of the medieval feudal-agrarian conditions.

India comes just after these three countries, and were it not for the vastness of our population, I might almost have said that our developments, so far as they go, have already reached the stage attained by the second class of nations. For us, therefore, England, America, Germany and France are too high. It is Italy, Japan and Russia which, lying, as they do, just a step ahead of us, should be considered to be furnishing practical object-lessons in the working out of one's way from medievalism to modernism.

Diversity in Foreign Relations

Q : With which countries do you think should Indians cultivate intimate intercourse ?

A : The scale of civilization indicated by me would have already made it clear as to what Indians are likely to expect from each country. I am not one of those who would propagate the notion, false as it is, that Great Britain is inferior to Germany or America or France. But all the same, it is not advisable that Indian culture should be dominated exclusively by any one system. I should invite all the great powers to compete with one another in the open Indian market. Naturally, therefore, the more Indians begin to study French and German at home and go out to France, Germany and America for purposes of trade, scientific research, medical investigations, social service methods and so forth, the more enriched and diversified will be the mind of India's population. We cannot afford to have only a single track in our cultural atmosphere.

CHAPTER XII

Empire Development and Economic India*

India not in touch with England

India has failed to take advantage of British developments to the extent that one might expect of a country in so great association with Great Britain. We have not cared to follow or understand the land legislation and land reform movements that characterize the English economic history of the last two decades. Some of the most fruitful British activities in the fields of social assurance and labor welfare have likewise had no repercussion on Indian public life or government enterprise.

The amount of real cultural contact between England and the Indian people is very small and anything but intimate. Even in regard to literature, philosophical investigations, educational experiments and scientific research we do not understand Great Britain until it is perhaps as a rule thirty to forty years too late. I am only stating a fact without trying to account for it or explain it. The cultural agencies in India, whether they be controlled and directed by Indians or by Englishmen, do not attend to this lack of spiritual contact between India and British progress in a systematic, comprehensive and practical manner. Or, at any rate, to be less aggressive, the connecting links do not function efficiently or adequately.

East and West identical.

There is a class of metaphysicians who would at once retort, "Well, England or for that matter Western civilization is entirely different in mental outlook from Indian and Oriental culture. The two worlds have moved along two different lines in the past and are likely to do so in the future. So there is nothing to be sorry for if India has really failed to assimilate the British developments in economic and social evolution."

* *The Englishman*, Calcutta, 21 July 1926 (Lecture at the Rotary Club, Grand Hotel, Calcutta)

Gentlemen, my mentality is very objective. And by the rigid test of measurable, positive phenomena it appears to me that in classical times or in the middle ages, down to the industrial revolution the relations between landlords and tenants, the laws of property in regard to the women and the serfs, the social morphology of the village, and the industrial organisation of the guilds were governed in the main on similar and almost identical lines both in the East and the West. And during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, whenever and wherever in Japan, China, India or Turkey a modern workshop has been established, no matter whether under foreign or indigenous initiative, the same "modernism" in labor conditions, business organization, economic legislation and social welfare movements as well as in the so-called philosophical attitudes or outlook on life and the universe has manifested itself in these countries as in the West. The ideals of civilization were never different, and they are not different to-day.

The solid fact that counts however, is that India happens to remain in large part still in the medieval-agrarian and pre-industrial stages. The advances that we have made in modernization are partial and halting. A thorough-going up-to-datization of Indian economic and social structure is the one grand mission of patriotism at the present moment.

Empire Development.

To me it is regrettable that the subject of Empire Development which occupies so much of attention and interest among the English people at home has hardly even been broached in India. I suspect that as in other things, in regard to this also, we shall fail to realize until it is too late how much of India's industrialization, agricultural progress, banking developments and material prosperity is connected with the British "key industries" movements, the Overseas Trade Facilities Act of 1924 and the Finance Act of 1925. As I said, there is no agency in India, official or non-official, to interpret the momentous changes that have been taking place in England and explain their affinities with our own welfare.

The British Empire is a legal and political unit. The

problem of Empire Development consists in transforming this unit into an economic entity, self-sufficient so far as it is practicable. From the Indian angle we have only one problem to discuss in this connection, namely,—"Is there anything in all these recent British schemes likely to be economically beneficial to India?" •

Indo-British Trade.

Let us take certain actual facts in the recent history of trade relations between Great Britain and India.

I have often asked myself the question : "Who are the best friends of the cultivators of jute in Bengal?" And the answer that has seemed to be the most appropriate is that they are not the Bengali people. It is the British capitalists in Scotland or the British *entrepreneurs* in India whose enterprise is chiefly responsible for the little joy and sun-shine that there is in the rural cottages of Bengal.

On the other hand, who are the best friends of British labor, specially of such as is employed in the export industries of Lancashire, Yorkshire and other counties? It is certainly not the Englishmen, but the millions of customers in India whose demand and purchasing power determine to a considerable extent the quality, quantity and variety of manufactures in Great Britain.

Modern economic life is not governed by the village, town or even national market. National economy has virtually ceased to exist. We are living to-day in the epoch of the world-market. It is the world-economy that regulates the fortunes of British labor as much as of the Indian peasant. Inter-parliamentary Commerical Congresses on the one hand, and aerial transportation on the other, have been revolutionizing the economic processes all along the line.

How, then, is it possible to maintain the dogma of "exploitation"? Who is exploiting whom? If Indian agriculture is being exploited by Great Britain, no less are British talent, British organizing ability and through them the world-market being exploited by the Indian people in and through the self-same agency. Command over Indian raw produce is certainly a great advantage for Great Britain, but the creation of a steady and expanding market for the goods produced by Indian muscle is no less significant an

instrument in the struggle for existence assured to India by British industrial organization. The exploitation of Great Britain's material and moral resources by Young India is one of the greatest facts of modern civilization.

If then, one must use the word exploitation at all, it is an instance of mutual exploitation that has been obtaining in the relations between India and England. How to promote this mutual exploitation more extensively and intensively according to the changed circumstances of the day is the problem of Empire Development, as I conceive it.

British Investments in the Empire.

It is, necessary, therefore, to take a bird's eye view of the Empire resources.

Whatever be the differences in race, history and dimension between Canada, Africa, Australia, New Zealand and India their economic situation is practically identical in so far as the present problem is concerned. Each one of them is young in capital power and has to depend to a considerable extent on the influx of this agent of production from Great Britain. The main responsibility of England in the promotion of this Empire idea lies in the supply of the sinews of war to the needy members of the partnership.

It is the "buisness" side of the Empire idea that affects the British investors. And from their standpoint it resolves itself into a comparative study of the different colonies and India as fields for investment.

All these regions, as I said, need capital. But certain special features must be noted in each instance.

Australia needs men. So also does New Zealand. Even supposing that the potentialities of these countries are enormous what could a population of, say, $1\frac{1}{2}$ million, roughly speaking, the inhabitants of a single district of Bengal, possibly achieve? Population can not be multiplied overnight. The possibilities of labor supply from Great Britain or of migration from "desirable" races are moreover very limited. Both Australia and New Zealand suffer therefore from natural limitations in regard to their capacity for absorbing British finance on a large scale.

Likewise is Africa's capacity to absorb British capital

limited for the time being. Much spade-work remains to be done in the line of transportation and communication. Besides, the question of man-power is especially complicated because of the fact that the *tsetse* fly and sleeping sickness remain yet to be over-powered in order to make the continent habitable for human beings, even for the indigenous races.

Next remains Canada. Here certainly there is a vast field. But the U. S. have already entrenched themselves in Canadian industry. And it is in the teeth of keen competition with American finance that British capital can make headway in Canada.

When all such considerations are carefully reviewed in detail it would appear that India, rich as it is in natural and human resources, is for British capital the most convenient and lucrative field of investment in the Empire. And yet it is curious that India has not been able to obtain more than £ 3-½ millions, out of a total "Imperial" investment of £ 54 millions in one of these recent years.

External Capital for India.

One might almost suspect some anti-Indian propaganda in British financial circles. It is certainly difficult to account for this indifferentism of the British investing public in regard to India. And it is adding insult to injury when the External Capital Committee's Report comes to the conclusion that "India already possesses a large store of potential capital" and emphasise the general principle that "the real solution of the problem lies in the encouragement of the Indian investor."

It seems to me that the problem has not been envisaged in its proper perspective. A correct reading of the situation and the needs of economic development should lead to quite the contrary advice. The development of India's internal capital should undoubtedly be the goal of statesmanship. But the sheet-anchor of India's financial policy for some long time should consist in the encouragement by all means of the influx of external capital on reasonable terms.

Export of Capital from Labor Standpoint.

But, then, there is a certain section of the British public especially in the ranks of labor that is not disposed in a

friendly manner to the exports of capital. According to this view investments abroad imply the elimination of so many chances of employment of labor at home.

This, however, is a misconception arising from an inadequate realization of the processes involved in foreign investment. When British capital is invested in India or anywhere else outside of Great Britain people as a rule seem to visualize so many lumps of bullion or sacks of gold sovereigns or bundles of promissory notes leaving the British shores. What exactly happens is something different. Foreign investments imply chiefly, if not exclusively, two things, (1) export of goods and (2) export of services.

Suppose more British capital were to be invested in Indian enterprise we should then see India purchasing more British goods and employing more Englishmen. And to the extent that more articles made in England are sold in India the export of British capital to India implies the employment of more hands in England.

Take the oils and fats or leather or glass resources of India. In each of these lines India can grow into a great industrial region. The man-power is already there both for manual work and second-grade technical work. What is needed is an oil-trust or leather-trust at the metropolitan cities to tap the resource in the villages and establish factories in different districts, all financed and controlled by the central syndicate. As soon as the trusts begin to function, India will need machineries, tools and implements and chemicals, as well engineers, chemists and organizers. And all this is to be taken care of by finance in London.

The advantages on the Indian side are considerable. Under these conditions Indian labour will seek to leave the congested villages and farms for the new factories and growing towns and find fruitful careers in different lines. On the other hand, hardly anything prejudicial can happen to the British working classes, for a growing market is automatically created for the products of their labour.

Besides, it is self-evident that it is only those portions of "surplus" capital which do not find "profitable" market in Great Britain, the colonies or other parts of the world that will seek Indian business. British labour does not necessarily

have to be jealous of the fields of investment in India, for British capital tends to be abroad looking for employment only when it finds that the local market is fed up.

Industrialized India and British Manufacturers.

Here, perhaps, the British industrialists and exporters may have their objections and not without reason. For I am looking for an all-round industrialization of India, including the elevation of agriculture to the technical plane. Incidentally, it may be observed that modernized and scientific agriculture is essentially an aspect of industrialization,—involving, as it does, machineries and chemical fertilizers on the technical side, and co-operative banking and the organization of transportation and marketing facilities on the economic side. And India, industrialized in every item, is bound to tell in the long run on Britain's manufactures.

But here, again, the situation is not so pessimistic as it appears at first sight. All the countries that have been getting industrialized since the War,—Latin America, the Balkan States, Italy, India,—are in need of tools and implements involved in the process of industrialization, and these have to be imported from the long-standing industrial powers. In the second place, whenever the question of "quality" arises, these youngsters are bound to place their orders with the adult nations. And finally, the more industrialized these countries are the richer they become, their purchasing power increases and along with it the demand for foreign supplies.

So far as India is concerned, my regret has been not so much that she has bought British goods but that she has been too poor to buy enough of them i. e. has been unable to produce a large number of goods of different qualities to pay for the imports. The more India advances in *Swadeshi*, i. e. in the indigenous industry movement the more will she have to depend on abroad.

Altogether, the cumulative result of all these industrializations abroad can but lead to a slow but sure transformation of the British industrial system and business organization. The "great powers" will be compelled to revise or rearrange their manufacturing forces and change the direction of their services to mankind. They will have to specialize in the higher and finer classes of goods, more precise instruments and elaborate

or complicated machineries, the young countries being left to handle the intermediates and semi-manufactures. A new industrial and commercial revolution is being consummated under our eyes—but this in no way detrimental to the interest of the industrial powers of to-day, provided they know how to go on in a wide-awake manner.

Indian Sentiment.

I must not ignore that "external" capital appears objectionable to Indian patriotic sentiment. But whatever be the sentimental orientations to British finance our nationalists and patriots must not forget the objective fact that it is mainly through this capital that India is already the eighth industrial power of the world, and that not only the working men but also the intellectual classes, those who constitute the backbone of the *Swaraj* movement owe their awakening and spiritualization in a great measure to the enterprises run or controlled by the British people in India. And more British capital will imply more prosperous peasantry, more organized and efficient labour, more self-conscious middle class, and paradoxically enough, more *Swaraj*.

Ministry of Economic Development.

I believe that the time is opportune for discussing the establishment of a ministry of economic development or bureau of national welfare in connection with the supreme government at Delhi,—together with its provincial affiliations. In order to be assured of continuous contact with the developments in policy and thought in Great Britain this ministry or bureau should have a strong and adequate staff to represent it permanently in London. The functions of this set of offices will consist in connecting the different resources of the Empire with one another, especially with reference to India. The occasion of the forth-coming Imperial Conference in London next October may be availed of by India to initiate this movement.

And in this connection it is good also to realize that the British Empire cannot function as a self-sufficient unit. Recent events have shown that the markets and currencies of Central Europe and Russia govern the daily life of millions of human beings in Great Britain, the Colonies and India. In order, therefore, that India may grow up to be a sound and efficient

limb of the Empire it is imperative that the British and Indian representatives of economic India place themselves in continuous intercourse with the happenings in Great Britain and the larger world.

The New Era of World-Economy.

Let me conclude with one general remark. In the near future the legal, economic and political relations between nations are going to lose much of their traditional significance. International intercourse bids fair to assume the character of a round-table study of the raw materials, human agencies, and financial resources of the world with a view to the fullest utilization of each in the interest of the happiness of mankind. The patriots and nationalists of the different sections of the world must have to re-shape their philosophies and policies *en rapport* with the demands of this new era of interdependence, mutual exploitation and world economy.

CHAPTER XIII

Memorandum on Post-Graduate Studies

**(With special reference to Economics
and the Allied Sciences)***

I. Raising the Level of Indian Culture.

The world of culture has been advancing swiftly both in methods as well as in achievements. The problem for Young India is to catch up to it at the quickest possible pace, or, at any rate, prevent by all means the gap between Indian attainments and world-culture from remaining wide.

The Universities and other educational institutions of India have, therefore, from time to time to take stock of the affairs at home and abroad with a view to functioning as adequate instruments in the modernizing and up-to-datization of Indian life and scholarship. It is with the object of co-operating with those of our countrymen who have been engaged in considering the best ways and means for raising the level of Indian culture that this memorandum has been drawn up.

II. The Scale of Studies.

The pedagogic discussion embodied in this memorandum implies the following scale of intellectual culture from bottom upwards and is to be interpreted in this perspective :

A. Steps to a University :

The first stage, beginning with the Kindergarten and ending with I. A., and I. Sc., as obtaining in India to-day, is to furnish the entrance requirements to university life. During this period the student learns all the sciences and all the arts without any elimination whatsoever. Age about 17-18.

B. Undergraduate University : 4 years.

(1) The second stage, corresponding to the B. A. and B. Sc., of Indian Universities, compels the student to take

* *Calcutta Review*, August 1926.

either all the arts subjects or all the science subjects without elimination.

(2) The third stage, corresponding to the existing M. A., and M. Sc., compels the student to take a whole "organic group" of subjects in the arts or the science line.

C. Post-Graduate University:

The final stage (post-M. A.) allows the student to choose a single subject as major with two or three allied minors.

III. The Financial Problem.

The fundamental problem is threefold: (1) Young India must have to be at school for a longer period than at present. (2) The existing standards all along the line will have to be made more liberalizing and comprehensive: (3) Provision for real higher education (specialized, intensive, practical and up-to-date) remains yet to be made.

The question, although pedagogic, is to all intents and purposes a financial one. Patriots who have the cultural welfare of their country at heart will have to be up and doing in order to raise funds. Appeals to the Government for financial assistance will likewise have to be persistent.

IV. The Academic Standing of M.A.

1. Even if the Matriculation, Intermediate, and B. A. of our universities be considerably improved both in standard and method of teaching, the intellectual equipment of the student at the threshold of M. A. is likely to remain low, especially since a foreign language is bound to be the medium of higher education for some long time.

2. M. A. students are generally 21-23 years old. At this age no young men and women, anywhere in the world, are expected to do high-class work as candidates for degrees, even although the mother-tongue be the medium of instruction and culture.

3. It is, therefore, desirable, both on the part of the university authorities as well as the teaching staff to be modest in regard to what the M. A. degree in India is, academically speaking, to stand for.

V. Real Post-Graduate Teaching.

1. It is time to recognize frankly that there cannot be

much distinction between the B. A. Honours and M. A. and that the latter should be treated in scope as, but a continuation of the former.

2. Without quarrelling over the name it is necessary also to admit that real post-graduate teaching would involve (i) specialization in one or two fields, (ii) an acquaintance with the latest developments in methodology as well as conclusions (*i.e.*, everything that is worth knowing) in regard to the subject or subjects chosen by the candidate, and (iii) mastery over at least two modern European languages on the part of the scholar as well as the habitual use of books and journals in those languages.

3. This result can be attained only when there is provision for at least two full years' regular schooling at the university after the M. A. to be followed by written (and if necessary, oral) examination.

4. But perhaps neither the University of Calcutta nor any other university in India is at present (i) financially or (ii) in the strength of specialized teaching staff competent enough to undertake this post-M. A. tuition.

5. Until that consummation, highly desirable as it is, can become a question of practical politics it is reasonable (i) to declare openly that real post-graduate teaching is not possible in India to-day and (ii) not to claim it for the existing M. A. work.

VI. M. A. as preliminary to Post-Graduate.

1. M. A. being what it is, the problem of an adequate curriculum is essentially a question of sound pedagogics.

2. For youths of 21-23, who may later be expected to undertake specialized studies, the scheme of instruction is to provide for a "minimum complex" of all-round encyclopaedic culture.

3. The problem consists in arranging a system which admits to the scholars' cognizance as many of the different arts and sciences or branches of arts and sciences of the higher grade as possible without any attempt at elimination.

4. M. A. may thus be expected to function as expanded B. A., *i.e.*, as serving to equip the scholar with a training in all those general principles and view-points of arts and sciences without which a specialization in any particular branch or sub-branch can but lead to an undue narrowing down of the

mentality of a superficial and unphilosophical grasp of the complex and concrete reality.

VII. Items to be Avoided.

1. It goes without saying that specialization or elimination in the matter of courses is not to be allowed at an early stage (e.g., B. A. or M. A.) i.e., on an insufficient ground-work).

2. Nobody should be permitted to submit a thesis in the place of one or two papers.

3. In the framing of syllabus or selection of books care should be taken to avoid attaching undue importance to any one school, standpoint or method of investigation.

4. While it is clear that for Indian students the knowledge of Indian topics, ancient or modern, is desirable as a matter of course, one must not make a fetish of them in any group. It need be distinctly understood that real cultural training and discipline in methodology will come in most cases from the studies of Eur-American topics as treated by well-established authors. The Indian topics are generally to be valued as but furnishing certain data or certain problems of investigation and research.

To be obsessed by Indian material at the M. A. stage would be tantamount to courtng blindness to liberal, standardized and practical education. On the other hand, the more experienced and efficient an Indian is in things Western, the more competent will he be as a servant of India, —in the realms of abstract philosophical discussion as much as in the fields of contemporary applied sociology.

VIII. The Foundations of Humanism.

In this memorandum certain disciplines have been taken to constitute the ground-work of all liberal education. These are (1) anthropology, (2) comparative psychology, (3) economic history, and (4) history of the exact sciences and technical inventions. It is in the interest of a culture, at once humane and realistic, at once moral and practical, that these sciences should be admitted into everybody's sphere, no matter whether it is mainly philosophical, historical, literary or scientific. The firm and vital grip over facts and

problems, both material and moral, and the humanistic attitude in regard to their solution are the chief requisites in Young India's intellectual life in order to endow it with anti-anæmic, anti-mystical and anti-speculative virility.

1. It is not enough to admit anthropology to the rank of an independent cultural unit in the scheme of studies. This science has grown during the last two decades or so to enormous proportions. No student of the B.A. stage can afford to grow up without a preliminary grounding in the principles of anthropology. It will have to be counted as a compulsory, allied discipline in the M. A. courses also,—in history, psychology, ethics, aesthetics, philology, economic evolution, political science, etc. Anthropological training is to be regarded as an indispensable item in the irreducible minimum of humanism.

2. Like anthropology, comparative psychology also is a new science, and its cultural significance has got to be recognized in Indian universities. The experimental analysis of mental operations in the human as well as the animal world, the objective differentiation of the nervous system according to age and sex, the bearings of health and occupation on personality, as well as the results of investigation in the submerged self, abnormalities and so forth are phenomena of epoch-making importance with which no young scholar can be allowed to remain unfamiliar to-day. Especially is it necessary in India, where the sway of monistic psychology and absolutism in philosophical thought has obtained too long to the detriment of intellectual catholicity and moral freedom. The clarification and sanity of the brain such as are sure to follow the acceptance of the pluralistic conception of the mind and the doctrines of individualistic psychology will not fail to raise mankind to a higher spiritual level, compelling chauvinism, intolerance and ethical dogmatism to retire inch by inch into the limbo of pre-historic curios.

3. The value of economic history as a discipline in positivism is no less fundamental. The superstitions regarding the alleged distinction in spirit and outlook between the so-called Eastern and Western "types" of civilization, which prevail in Eur-America as well as in Asia,—among the students of science as of philosophy, literature, and what not,

—will begin to disappear as soon as the stages in the economic evolution of mankind appear before the mind's eye in a realistic manner. To persons well-grounded in the objective facts of the growth of mankind in the materialistic line the perspective of culture will appear in all its clarity and unclouded horizon, and the problems of world-reconstruction, re-making of man, social legislation and so forth that await us to-day lose much of their metaphysical vagueness. Even without accepting the extreme dogmas of the "economic interpretation of history" (economic determinism, as it is called), we shall be assured of a logical apparatus and mode of thinking in social science in which measurement, delimitation and exactitude function constantly as the curb on abstract idealism and proneness to thoughtless generalizations. And we shall learn to bid adieu to pseudo-climatology and pseudo-raciology.

4. Finally, as a healthy stimulant in all intellectual pursuits—historical, artistic, philosophical or otherwise—and as a perpetual spur to progressivism and optimistic outlook on life, the study of the exact sciences and inventions in their growth and development has to be welcome in Indian academic circles among the "most-favoured" branches of learning. Young India's intellectuals, whatever be their occupations in future, need a tonic of precise, definite, instrumental thinking; and nothing is better adapted to administer strong doses of this stuff and cure mankind of spiritual malaria than is the history of exact sciences, discoveries and inventions, especially in their recent phases.

Mankind is in for a philosophical renaissance and a rearrangement of world-forces. In order that India may keep pace with the changed circumstances it is time that she equip herself with the realistic logic of a new humanism and the creative methodology of a self-confident energism, such as can be forged out of this four-fold discipline. And with the object of assuring ourselves of this great prophylactic against anæmia in the moral plane anthropology, comparative psychology, economic history, and the history of exact sciences should be made compulsory at the B.A. stage and rendered as accessible as possible to all the M. A. students. The humanism for which this memorandum pleads will enable the educational institutions of India to take a leading part in this new anti-malaria campaign as a matter of course.

IX. "Organic Groups."

To give a few illustrations, at random, of what is meant by an "organic group" or "minimum complex."

1. Comparative philology should not be regarded as an isolated study at the M. A. stage. Courses in psychology, logic, archaeology, anthropology, geography, and the history of civilization should constitute the cultural background of the philologist. An elementary course in the principles and history of extra-Indian and non-Indo-Aryan languages, namely, Chinese and Arabic, is to be introduced. And finally, courses of studies in the developments of Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Oriya, etc., should not be admitted without an orientation to the corresponding studies,—independent although elementary,—of the modern European languages.

2. In the scheme of studies in ancient Indian culture it is absolutely necessary to introduce the cultural history of Egypt, Babylon, Persia, China, Greece, Rome and mediaeval Europe in order to set the sociological perspective. Nobody could do justice to the achievements of Hindu civilization who happened to be weak in the knowledge of European institutions and ideals, say, from Pythagoras to Dante. It is also desirable to introduce certain liberalizing studies, *e.g.* methodology, the history of literature, fine arts, philosophy etc., anthropology, specimens of historical classics in the European languages, and economic history. There is a tendency in the prevailing academic circles to study ancient and medieval India in a state of "splendid isolation." This is a most vicious practice.

3. Philosophy has to be made objective by the introduction of economic studies and political history. Anthropology and applied sociology should likewise have a place in the philosophical group. A course in the progress of the exact sciences and technical inventions in recent times is also a desideratum. The student of philosophy must also be made to realize the influences of experimental psychology.

4. The historical group must comprise,—among other compulsory topics,—anthropology, geography (economic and historical), economic history, the study of international relations or foreign policies, psychology, logic, the growth of the human mind as reflected in the arts and sciences, history of

philosophy, and a history of historical literature including archæological researches.

5. Experimental psychology must not constitute an independent study by itself at the M.A. stage. The history of the exact sciences should naturally belong to this group. Then all the varied branches of applied psychology, social, industrial (psychotechnique), pedagogic, business, medical and so forth will have to be accorded a place in the system. And courses in liberal culture would include logic, the psychology of art and artists, applied sociology, anthropology, and history of literature and literary criticism.

Naturally, the bounds of these "organic groups" or "minimum complexes" will vary from time to time according to circumstances,—almost in the same manner as the definition of the "key industries."

X. General Remarks in regard to Economics.

1. Certain subjects indispensable to every student of social science must have a definite place in the scheme of studies in economics. These are (i) modern economic history and (ii) modern constitutional history.

2. Statistics cannot be treated as optional, while mathematical economics, if necessary, may.

3. In international law and sociology the historical treatment seems to have been ignored in the system obtaining at present at Calcutta.

4. The existing curriculum, it appears further, has no paper on the principles of legislation. Equally unknown is private international law.

5. Labour problems and labour economics constitute some of the greatest formative agencies in contemporary social thought. But there is no well-defined place for these topics in the present syllabus.

6. Land-legislation should be regarded as an important independent item.

7. Studies in co-operation need also be specified.

XI. Suggestions re Teaching.

1. The following scheme of studies for M.A. in economics'

politics and sociology is made up on the basis of ideas set forth in the above sections.

2. All the eight papers each with two halves are compulsory.

3. The number of lectures on each half is to be about 30 or 35. For each half the students will be expected to read at least 500-750 pages.

4. In the case of those half-papers in which India is to figure as one of the contributing items, Indian material should occupy about 25 per cent. of the lectures.

5. As a rule, one or two text-books are to constitute compulsory reading material in regard to each half. Chapters or sections in other books or journals may be recommended for reference purposes, but within reasonable limits. Examinations should be conducted on this basis, questions being fairly distributed over the books.

6. As the multiplicity of subjects forms the essential feature of these suggestions, it is necessary that the teachers make it a point to select the most important topics and reject the avoidable details. (Detailed, intensive work is for post-M.A., if that is ever to come.)

7. In the interest of co-ordination of studies the teaching staff should at least once a quarter organize academic conferences or social gatherings to which students need not be invited.

XII. M. A. Examination Papers in Economics, Politics and Sociology.

First Paper.

Economic and Constitutional History of the Great Powers
(with special reference to the period since 1870.)

First half: Economic Developments.

Second half: Constitutional Developments.

Second Paper.

Theories in Economic Science (Pure Economics), with
mathematical applications.

First half: Value and Distribution.

Second half: Money, Banking and International Trade.

Third Paper.

Categories and Contents of Contemporary and Modern Political Thought (since 1870).

First half : Mazzini, Mill, Treitschke, Leroy-Beaulieu, Green, Marx, Loria, etc.

Second half : Sidgwick, Gierke, Duguit, Woodrow Wilson, Lenin, Joseph-Barthelemy, Spann, etc.

Fourth Paper.

The Political Institutions (constitutional law and administrative law) of modern states including India.

First half : The Machinery of Central Government.

Second half : Municipal and Local Administration.

Fifth Paper.

First half : Public Finance as Science with illustrations from India as well as Europe, America and Japap.

Second half : Statistics.

Sixth Paper.

First half : French or German.

Second half : Essay.

Group A—Economics.

Seventh Paper.

First half : History of Economic Doctrines and Methods (including a survey of modern Indian economic thought.)

Second half : Labour Movements in Economic History and Theory.

Eighth Paper.

Applied Economics and Economic Legislation.

First half : Systems of (i) Tariff or (ii) Currency or (iii) Bank-Policy or (iv) Transportation (including Indian data in each instance)- Only one to be taken.

Second half : (i) Land-Tenures or (ii) Business Organisation, or (iii) Co-operation or (iv) Insurance (including Indian data in each instance). Only one to be taken.

Group B.—Politics.

Seventh Paper.

History of Political Theories from the earliest times down to 1870 (in the background of political evolution).

First half : Western.

Second half : Indian.

Eighth Paper.

Principles of Legislation.

First half : Historical and Sociological Jurisprudence.

Second half : Comparative Legislation : The Civil (marriage and property) Laws of Great Britain, France, Germany, U. S., A., and India.

Group C.—International Law.

Seventh Paper.

First half : History of the Theory of International Law (in the background of the evolution of political thought).

Second half : Modern Diplomacy and International Relations (since 1650) including Western intercourse with Asia and Africa.

Eighth Paper.

International Law.

First half : Public International Law.

Second half : Private International Law.

Group D.—Sociology.

Seventh Paper.

First half : History of Social Theories : Study of the Problems and Methods in Social Philosophy; From Plato and Kautilya down to Ward, Durkheim, Gumpłowicz, Simmel, Hobhouse, etc.

Second half : Social Institutions (Oriental and Occidental, ancient and modern, primitive and undeveloped) : descriptive and historical treatment of family, property, state, myth and art.

Eighth Paper.

First half : Social Psychology : (analysis of the *psyche* in its reactions to the group).

Second half : Applied Sociology (problems and methods in the re-making of man) : eugenics, pedagogics, criminology, economic legislation, control of poverty, social assur-

ance, birth control, welfare schemes, town-planning, rural reconstruction, internationalism, colonisation, etc.

XIII. General Remarks in regard to Commerce.

All the principles indicated in the previous discussion are taken to be valid in the scheme of commercial education. One or two special considerations may be pointed out :—

(i) The bias is to be more commercial than economic.

(ii) Commerce is not to be treated as identical with buying and selling, *e. g.*, the science of stores and foreign trade, but to be regarded as comprehensive enough to include insurance, transportation, and banking as independent items.

XIV. M. A. Papers in Commerce.

Eight papers, all compulsory. Each paper consisting of two halves, each half compulsory

First Paper.

First half : Business Organisation.

1. Forms of organization.
2. Methods or machinery of business.

Second half : Economics of Commerce :

1. Descriptive historical.
2. Theory of Value as applied to Insurance, Shipping and Railway rates, Share-Market, Banking Accounts, etc.

Second Paper.

First half : Inland and Foreign Trade.

Second half : Merchandise :—Raw produce from land, forests and mines. Machineries and chemicals.

Third Paper.

First half : Problems in bank management with special reference to the calculation of risk.

Second half : Stock Exchange and Money Market.

Fourth Paper.

First half : Elementary Insurance and actuarial work

Second half : Transportation.

Fifth Paper.

First half : Commercial Law.

Second half : Legislation on Tariff, Currency and Taxation with special reference to Partnerships, Joint Stock Companies and Trusts.

Sixth Paper.

First half : Commercial Geography.

Second half : History of Commerce in the background of the world's material and cultural evolution.

Seventh Paper.

First half : Accounting.

Second half : Auditing.

Eighth Paper.

First half : Statistical methods in Commerce and Commercial Arithmetic.

Second half : Foreign language :—one of French, German and Japanese.

CHAPTER XIV

Views on the Currency Report.*

Majority Report.

Questioned as to whether he is in agreement with the recommendations of the Currency Commission's Report, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar remarked :—

In the main, the report seems to inaugurate an epoch-making landmark in our monetary history. My remarks, based as they are on a bird's-eye view of some of the summaries published in different dailies of Wednesday, can however be nothing but impressionistic. I should like to single out one or two prominent features of the proposed scheme.

1. The policy of the gold standard will certainly bring India up to date and in line with the latest currency reforms in Europe.

2. The gold currency although not yet in contemplation is not definitely outvoted.

3. The idea of issuing "saving certificates" redeemable in 3 or 5 years in legal tender money or gold will be appreciated by a large section of the country as a mode of investment and thus ultimately conducive to economic development.

4. The most revolutionary item in the proposal appears to be the one relating to the cessation of coinage of silver rupees. This implies that (a) more small denomination notes will be issued and (b) the ground will be prepared for the gold currency at some future date. And this will involve automatically the training of the people on a large scale in habits of using money without any metallic basis and ultimately also in the use of banking and other credit instruments.

Reserve Bank.

Questioned as to whether he agrees with any of the points raised by Sir Purushottamdas, Prof. Sarkar said :—

I do not agree with Sir Purushottamdas who believes that

* Interview in *For ward*, 4 August 1926.

the present Imperial Bank of India should have been made into the proposed Central Bank. It is desirable that the new institution should not function to any large extent as a commercial bank but like the Bank of England or the *Reichsbank* of Germany look chiefly to the currency problems of the country. This new institution, namely, the proposed Reserve Bank of India, is likely to be a powerful instrument in the establishment of India's credit and financial system on advanced lines, such as have been experimentally found to be sound in the currency policy of the Great Powers. I think that this is one of the most important items of reform in the present report.

It may be remarked, in passing, that the Committee wish this new institution to be more or less a duplicate of the British institution by recommending that the Issue Department should be kept wholly distinct from the Banking Department.

Rate of the Rupee.

(a) The stabilisation of the Rupee at 1s. 6d. such as is being recommended by the Committee has, indeed, for some time been a phenomenon of the balance of trade. To a certain extent, this certainly is an incentive to the purchase of foreign goods by the Indians, since the prices in terms of pounds will appear rather cheap to persons possessing the rupee. This, however, is not an unmixed evil because, situated as we are, we cannot afford to do without foreign goods. It is desirable therefore, in the interests of millions of consumers, especially of such as cannot get their immediate necessities supplied by the industries near at hand, to obtain the goods from abroad at comparatively lower prices. Besides, the industrialization of Indian agriculture as well as other economic functions will need machineries and chemicals, such as can be furnished mainly from abroad. To get these things cheap is really a great help to the *Swadeshi*.

(b) But, one may ask, is not this cheapening of foreign goods on the Indian market, detrimental to our growing *Swadeshi* industries or, for that matter, to all those industries that are being run on Indian soil with Indian or foreign capital? To a certain extent, yes. But we must note that to-day in India there is a Tariff Board and that the Government is committed to a policy of promoting the "key industries"

within Indian boundaries. Whenever, therefore, our countrymen feel that certain industries are not in a position to maintain themselves, on account of foreign competition, there is a likelihood of getting some protection for them in one form or other, by means of agitation and legislation.

(c) The tariff policy will thus to a certain extent counteract the evils such as they are of the currency policy.

CHAPTER, XV

Machinery of National Welfare*

In the Chemical Engineering Theatre of the Bengal Technical Institute at Jadavpur a lecture on the machinery of national welfare was delivered by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar on Saturday the 31st July, at 4 p. m. He began with the remark that his message is as simple as that "grapes are not sour" and that in his mode of thinking, objective and realistic as it is, a spade is nothing but a spade.

He said that national welfare is not so abstract and metaphysical a conception as freedom or *Swaraj*. One could understand it as soon as one began to measure the number of men and women in a country who were getting square meals and decent clothing and living a sound and healthy life. He singled out four different lines along which, among many others, the welfare of the country might be promoted by Young India at the present moment.

Existing Nation-building Institutions.

First, he said that during the last 20 years Young India has been rather reluctant to make the best use of the existing welfare-promoting or nation-building institutions in the country. He gave the instance of new varieties of rice and jute, improved breeds in cotton and wheat, as well as the renovated strains of tobacco and sugarcane, which have been adding to the wealth of the country in recent years. He deplored that our patriots have not cared to understand the significance of these recent developments on our agriculture and peasant life. Another instance of our apathy to the existing nation-building institutions lies, said he, in the field of agricultural farms and experimental stations. Our nationalists have failed to take advantage of the 25 to 30 experimental institutions situated in the head-quarters of sub-divisions of the districts of Bengal. Then, again, there is the powerful co-operative movement which already counts something above eleven thousand institutions and in terms of finance is valued at above 6½ crores

* From *Welfare*, Calcutta, September 1926.

of rupees. The whole thing has grown up under our very eyes during the period of the *Swadeshi* movement. And yet perhaps hardly any of our distinguished leaders and self-sacrificing patriots have appreciated the importance of the movement or tried to propagate it among the classes for whom it is intended.

Apathy of Patriots.

Prof. Sarkar said that one chief reason why our publicists have cultivated a studied indifference to all these welfare-promoting agencies is perhaps that they are connected with the Government. But he wants to know if the patriots of Young India to-day would like to love their country or to pursue their apathy to national welfare simply because some of these works happen to be directed from Pusa or by District Boards or by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. He said that the existence of patriotic societies like the Abhaya Asram of Comilla, the Khadi Pratisthan of Calcutta, Deshabandhu Village Reorganization Committee, Ramkrishna-Vivekananda Mission and similar other organizations shows that Bengal is not wanting in good-souled, self-denying and idealistic workers. He, therefore, asks them as well as others who are complaining against the absence of fields for constructive work to consider whether they should not employ their enthusiasm in the furtherance of the objects with which some of the Government institutions are identified.

The Question of Capital.

The second machinery of national welfare, said Prof. Sarkar, consists in the organization of capital. He said that during the period of the *Swadeshi* movement we have failed to organise more than a very limited amount of capital power out of our own resources. Nay, for the last two generations it is mainly British capital that has been helping forward the economic development of the country on modern lines. And even where the capital has not actually come from abroad it is British organizing ability as well as business experience that have succeeded in commanding Indian capital and contributing to our national welfare. Much of the greatness in culture, political activity and industrial efficiency with which the middleclass and the working classes as well as peasants of Bengal are credited to-day is due in no small measure to the pioneering enterprises of foreigners settled in India.

Wanted Propaganda in London.

He said that for some long time India cannot afford to do, without British capital and British enterprise, although *Swadeshim* will have to be promoted in finance, industry and commerce by, all means. What is wanted at the present moment is that all those advantages that the thinking and active sections of Young India have been enjoying during the last half a century on account of association with foreign institutions should be rendered accessible to as many of our teeming millions of men and women as possible, and this without the least possible delay in point of time. And with this object in view he suggests that some of the greatest financiers and ablest patriots of the country should proceed to England and make propaganda in the financial circles of London in order to invite British investors to tap the industrial resources of India. He believes that in industrial enterprise we have to play a second fiddle to the foreigners for a considerable time yet. And if we wish to love our country more than our sentiments and prejudices we should be frank enough to admit this even while straining every nerve to achieve success in banking and insurance projects of our own.

Hindu-Moslem Unity Inevitable.

In Prof. Sarkar's judgment, the third important plank of national welfare consists in the proper orientation to the relations between the Hindus and Mussalmans. He said that almost everybody on the Hindu and Mussalman side is to-day perhaps pessimistic about the future of these relations. He ventured to think, on the other hand, and just at the moment when the situation seems to be the darkest, that the unity between the Hindus and Mussalmans is an inevitable fact of the coming future. He said that even during the days of 1905-7 when unpleasant situations arose he predicted that the friendship between the two races was bound to come. He had indicated also the circumstances under which it would come, and everybody knows that it came in 1912 and 1921. To-day, like-wise, he believes that the restoration of amicable intercourse is not to be despaired of.

Contractual Basis of Racial Amity.

His reasons are two-fold. First, he thinks that until an individual or a race is self-conscious and confident of indivi-

duality the relations with other individuals or races can never indicate the existence of solid cordiality. The present breach between the Hindus and Mussalmans constitutes just the beginning of the processes in the making of that cordiality which can come only when both the parties are fully conscious of their differences and individualities. In the second place, he thinks that a society or a state is not an "organic" entity as philosophers have been teaching us for a good long time. Especially in modern times when creative intelligence and will determine a great porcion of human activities it is the freedom of will and the desire to make one's free choice in regard to associates that play a prominent part in the establishment of groups. Society and state are being placed more and more on the self-determined contractual basis. It is this element of contract such as one finds in the establishment of a manufacturing company or business organization or educational institutions that will begin to operate in the mentality of the Hindus and Mussalmans as soon as each party is conscious of its own wants and limitations as fullfledged moral agents.

Wanted Hindu Specialists in Moslem Problems.

He said that in the present juncture he did not want to advise the Mussalmans in regard to their duties. But addressing the Hindus he should suggest that the time has come when the Hindu thinkers, publicists and literary men of Bengal make it a point to study Urdu, Persian and Arabic as the media of firsthand knowledge in regard to the Moslem world from Canton to Morocco. He regretted that at a time when the culture of Young Bengal was comprehensive enough to include French, German, and Italian, nay, Russian, in its life-building scheme no attempt was being made to study the Mussalman problems in an adequate and efficient manner. He wanted to see dozens, if not hundreds, of Hindu "specialists" in Muslim culture in each and one of the districts of Bengal.

Western Civilization a Spiritual Tonic.

The fourth and the last agency of national welfare on which Prof. Sarkar spoke may be described as the proper attitude that one should cultivate in regard to our relations with Western civilization. He said that, spiritually speaking,

what most of the great men of Bengal have done since the days of Rammohun Roy until to-day is perhaps to be attributed to the assimilation of the forces that modern Europe and America have generated for mankind. Even Bhudev and Vivekananda, not to speak of Madhusudan, Bankim and Romesh Dutt and others, each in his own line has functioned, although not ostensibly perhaps, as propagandist of Western civilization in India. And if we are honest, we must admit that this modern civilization has been a tremendous tonic and life-builder in our moral and intellectual system.

Japanese Method re. Western Civilization.

But, said he, in this regard we people of India have behaved differently from the Japanese and the Turks. These races are bold enough to admit freely that the West is their *guru*, whereas with us it has been far otherwise. We have rather chosen to think that modern civilization is something untouchable and at best a necessary evil. Beginning with the modern medical institutions, railways, water-works and what not, our attitude has always been one of repugnance in the initial stages until the force of circumstances has compelled us to swallow almost everything that the alleged "Satanic" civilization or the beastly materialism of the West has to contribute to mankind. He asked Young India to consider whether we should not adopt the Japanese method. The Japanese do not wait till the Westerns bring Western goods, spiritual and material, to Japan. It is the Japanese who, as soon as they hear of something new in machinery, chemicals, philosophical discussions, scientific researches and so forth as having taken place in the Western world, send out their pioneers and rising intellectuals to the Western countries to investigate at first hand the possibilities of these novelties. And as a rule it is the Japanese themselves who import Western civilization into their own country.

Wanted Direct Imports of Modern Culture.

Up till now all the modern civilization that we have been able to imbibe has come to us through foreign channels and foreign intermediaries. It is now time, said he, that we should send out large numbers of pioneers abroad in the Japanese manner. He suggested that batches of ten young

men between the ages of 28 and 32 should be sent out every year from each and every district of Bengal. These young men are not to be mere students going out for degrees in the Universities but professional business men, engineers, lawyers, medical men, musicians, journalists, printers, dramatists, and so forth,—persons such as have actual experience in the lines that each has taken up as vocation in life. In his calculation, for residence abroad for a period of three to four years together with travelling expense one needs about ten thousand rupees.

Programme for Young Bengal

He placed a programme before Young Bengal. The district organizations should attempt to raise a lac of rupees for ten persons every year for the next ten years. It is, as a rule, the mentality and experience of such men when they come back to India that can furnish us with an adequate amount of objective sense and sound constructive patriotism in which the nationalists of our country happen to be lacking to day.

CHAPTER XVI

East and West*

"East and West" was the subject of an interesting lecture delivered last evening (Thursday) by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar at the Overtoun Hall before a large gathering, mostly of students.

The lecturer began thus :—

"It is a conventional topic,—an oft-repeated, twice, thrice and hundred times told tale,—on which I am going to address you this evening. In the judgment of many of my countrymen as well as many of the persons and institutions that I have come across in Europe, America, China, Japan or Egypt the question of the relations between the East and West has already been closed. But unfortunately I happen to be ambitious enough to re-open that question and to declare in so many words that the question is not yet closed. The subject of the relations between the East and West is an open question still and certainly it is an open question.

"Those people in whose judgment the question seems to have been closed have tried to seek their solution in one or other of the following three forms. First come those people who believe that the East is fundamentally distinct from the West, that the institutions and ideals of Asian men and women have nothing in common with the institutions and ideals of Western men and women. Then there are those in whose judgment the East is superior to the West. The people of the East are supposed ever to have been the *guru* of the West and they are perhaps destined also to remain the *guru* of the West in the future. And last but not the least in importance, there are those philosophers in whose judgment the solution of the question has taken an entirely different direction. In their ideas the West is superior to the East. With this class of thinkers the doctrine of Western superiority is but the first postulate and almost the very foundation of social philosophy.

"Now, gentlemen, I am not a metaphysician. My men-

*Based on reports and summaries in the *Servant*, *A. B. Patrika*, *Forward* etc, 17 September 1926.

talities is too humble to attempt summing up the entire continents in half a dozen words, in a few striking adjectives, in a small bunch of abstract nouns. The methodology which tries to digest the joys and sorrows of millions of men and women into single catchwords is the furthest removed from my consciousness. I propose this evening to place before you certain facts, mere objective facts. I want you to examine whether any of the solutions that have been attempted up till now on the question of the relations between the East and West has a right to be regarded as a solution. This is my challenge to the postulates of Eastern and Western philosophers."

Continuing, the speaker said that he ventured to challenge all these propositions and re-open the question. He pointed out that the position of the woman, or of the king in the Greek epics is not different from the pictures of society that one finds in the ancient Indian literature. According to him Kalidas who immortalised the Gupta Emperors in his *Raghuvamsha* was as great a nationalist as Virgil. In his judgment there is no grander creation in world-literature than Dante's *Divine Comedy* and the spirituality embodied in this epic of Catholicism is not less "ennobling" than anything the Hindus obtained in their sublimest creations.

If one made a comparative study, went on Prof. Sarkar, of the ancient writers of the East and West one was struck by the similarity of ideas. Spenser's ideas bore a close resemblance to those of the Indian authors. Poets like Virgil and Kalidas, so widely separated by time and space, even paralleled each other in jingoism, in chauvinistic imagination and glorification of their own races.

Only during the last century there had appeared a tendency among literary and art critics of the West to interpret the creations of art and aesthetics as varying according to race, climate and region. Only pseudo-artists and pseudo-aesthetic critics drew a line of demarcation between East and West where there was none. This attitude has created a vast Sahara of falsehood.

The progress that the West boasted of, continued Prof. Sarkar, was barely a century old, unknown to the fathers and grandfathers of the present generation of Westerners.

Even the doctrine of the spiritual superiority of East over

West could not bear scrutiny. Preparation for salvation or *Mukti* was not the monopoly of the East. This was the bed-rock even of Christianity. Some of the poems of Spenser looked like translations of *Moha-mudgara*.

Statistically as well as historically speaking, the ideals of civilisation in the East have been identical with the ideals of civilisation in the West.

Then the speaker analysed the moral elements in Edmund Spenser, the humorous elements in Moliere as well as the social background of Goethe's *Faust* to bring home the message that, epoch by epoch, the characteristics of Indian life and thought were identical with or similar to those of the West.

Only in the nineteenth century had Europe forged ahead and to the civilisation of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries East had failed to make much mentionable original contribution.

The nineteenth century and recent civilization had been mainly industrial. East had not been able to keep pace with the West in these phases of culture.

He pointed out, finally, the need for an objective study in sociology and reform in the comparative method of investigation.

Fundamentally there was no distinction between East and West. "Where is East, where is West?" concluded Prof. Sarkar.

CHAPTER XVII

New Orientations in Commerce*

I. Commercial Bengal.

The immediate future of Bengal lies to a considerable extent in the cultivation of commerce. In these words can be described the viewpoint of a growing section of the Bengali people that has been hard hit by circumstances to compare the claims of different lines of business enterprise. It is in the midst of such intellectual changes in the community that the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce has decided to reorganize itself and issue an organ of its own.

The determination on the part of our people to cultivate more of commerce, and the decision of the Chamber in favour of reorganization are taking place at a time when the methods and problems of world-commerce have been undergoing a noteworthy transformation. It is desirable at this stage that commercial Bengal should try to keep abreast of these current tendencies in the larger complex of commercial relations. Those of our countrymen who are to-day taking a leading part in the commerce of the land will have to orient themselves adequately to these new conditions in the policies of nations.

II. International Economic Conferences.

The spirit of co-operation between nations, or, at any rate, interchange of views is to-day a marked characteristic of the commercial policy of nations. International economic congresses of one denomination or another are holding their sessions in regular seasonal succession.

The Peace Treaties.

The recent phases of the history of this movement are all well-known. The various Treaties of Peace (1919) settled the terms of commercial intercourse between the victors and

*An editorial article in the first number of the *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce*, Calcutta, September, 1926.

the enemies. But the terms of commercial co-operation between the allies themselves were left unsettled.

The inter-allied economic co-operation had, however, been an accomplished fact of the war period, commencing as it did with 1916. The Supreme Economic Council was inaugurated at the armistice although it came to an abrupt end in August 1919 with the retirement of the U. S. from European complications.

Efforts of the League of Nations.

Since then it has been left chiefly to the League of Nations by virtue of Article 23 to organize schemes of "equitable" commercial intercourse for its members. And this the League has not failed to attempt by instituting international conferences for financial, tariff and other purposes and for discussing such problems as reciprocity *versus* the "most favoured nation" treatment in international trade (1921, 1923, etc.). The financial congress at Brussels (1920) is one of its important landmarks, as well as the conference at Barcelona (1921) which was attended by 44 states and regulated the conditions of transit and communication, and international roads, waterways and ports. The regular and systematic work of the International Bureau of Labour is not the least momentous function discharged by the League in the world's economic system.

Two important problems of contemporary economic life which have been attacked by the League's conferences, although without success, may be mentioned in this connection. One relates to the international distribution of raw materials in such a manner as to prevent the producing nation from charging an extra price for export. And the other, known as the Ter Meulen project after the propounder who broached the idea at Brussels, had in view the object of placing international credit at the service of needy nations on condition that they get the loan through the League on mortgage of the properties suggested by the latter. Propositions like these indicate at any rate which way the commercial wind is blowing.

Other Internationals.

The League of Nations, however, is not the sole instru-

ment in contemporary internationalism. The world-view has been promoted in no ordinary measure by the Washington Conference of November 1919 and especially the labour regulations. The Genoa Conference of April 1922 has tried independently of the League to place the world's economic and financial system on a unified co-operative basis.

And finally, the International Chamber of Commerce is an institution that since 1920 has been holding every year non-governmental but highly influential congresses of business men and technical experts representing most of the leading commercial nations. The delegates to these annual congresses discuss such topics as reparations, inter-allied debts, international credit, tariff regulations, customs formalities, commercial arbitrations, protection of inventions, transportation, passports, unification of commercial terminology, etc.*

III. Not Schemes of World-Federation.

These are facts of our own times. Commercial Bengal cannot afford to overlook them. Nay, it is time to recognize that this inter-nationalism has acquired a momentum on account of the cumulative technical and legal advance of the last fifty years or so. It is desirable that the pioneers of our immediate future get oriented to the trend of contemporary and recent world-developments in commerce and commercial policy.

These do not embody idealistic schemes of "world-federation", universal brotherhood or millennial peace. In all these economic movements and institutions we have the positive register of self-conscious will and creative intelligence trying by methods of exact-experimentation to find out the least expensive means of promoting the greatest amount of human welfare and apply them to the different members of the commercial world.

IV. International Law and the Technique of Communication.

The international law, both "private" and the "public," of the last half a century has served cumulatively to establish

* Gignoux's *L'après-guerre et la politique commerciale* (Paris, 1924), p.p. 174-188 ; *Welt-wirtschaftliches Archiv* (Jena, October, 1924) pp. 579-587.

the bonds of a "world-economy" in every possible manner. The technical inventions and industrial progress of the epoch have in this manner been exploited by the legal sense of mankind in order to knit the different races into a unified complex.

World Postal Union.

The World-Postal Union, established in 1878, can be rightly described as the pioneer in this economic internationalization. But perhaps in this line, historically speaking, the very first step is represented by the General Telegraph Union of 1865 which in 1906 has been extended to wireless telegraphy. The convention of 1884 in regard to the protection of submarine cables and the numerous agreements or treaties regulating, as they do, telephonic communications belong also to the same sets of forces.

Maritime Arrangements.

The doctrine of "freedom of the sea" is an old and important fundamental of "public" international law. But its significance in "private" international law is no less profound and comprehensive. Much of the world's foreign trade is overseas commerce and naturally the contractual relations positively entered into by the different states in regard to ocean transportation are enormous in bulk. It is not only the exigencies of naval war but those of maritime commerce as well that have necessitated a host of treaties bearing on bays, gulfs, straits, sea-coasts, ports, command of the flag, piracy etc.

Purely commercial considerations have likewise furnished the inspiration for international agreements re. navigation, the nationality of ships, passengers and crew, official documents relating to the boats, cargo, etc., methods of registration and so forth. The name of mutual understandings on the question of light-houses, buoys, and beacons between different trading parties is legion. And finally, the more universal regulations relating to the sea-routes, maritime signal-codes, mutual help in cases of accident or other dangers, and protection of life and property on the high seas constitute some of the basic foundations of contemporary world-commerce.

International Rivers.

The "international rivers" have also been brought under the sway of positive law such as binds the interested nations in their dealings with one another. The principle of the freedom of international river-navigation was recognized even in the Peace of Westphalia. It has been acquiring prominence since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1888 the Suez Canal was admitted into the same system. To-day the Danube, the Rhine, the Elbe, the Schelde, the Oder, the Rio de la Plata, the Congo, the Niger,—each one of these rivers is subject to the "combined sovereignty," if one may say so, of all the states whose territorial (and commercial) jurisdiction is traversed by it.

Railway Understandings.

In regard to railway transportation the number of treaties between interested nations down to 1914 was extraordinarily large. These treaties have established the rights and duties concerning the roads on the boundaries of states within the national limits, the connection between the inland railway system and the systems of the neighbouring countries, the trains and carriages, post, goods and passenger traffic, safety and sanitary police, customs officers, payment in foreign currencies, the construction of international stations and godowns, bridges, tunnels, etc. The building of railway lines connecting two neighbouring states, whether they be government or private property, the administration of a state or private railway line situated in another nation's territory in such a manner as not to interfere with the sovereign jurisdiction of the latter, and the financing of a railway such as can hardly be dispensed with in the interest of international intercourse,—these and other topics are being regulated by precise and definite rules based on the deliberations of the contracting parties.

The International Freight Conferences held at Berne in 1874, 1881, 1886 and 1890 have succeeded in establishing a real international law on the question of railway rates so far as they have bearing on the transshipment of goods. Fifteen states took part in those deliberations and consider themselves bound by the results of the convention, which is perhaps of

as deep importance in modern international law and international trade as the World-Postal Union of 1878.

Automobile Convention

The Automobile Convention of Paris (1909) has established the lines on which international intercourse with motor cars and lorries is being carried on. It was ratified by 14 states.

V. Commercial Treaties

While the legal measures adopted to unify the means of communication and transportation, or at any rate place them on a uniform and systematic basis have assured the physical foundations of world-economy, another characteristic feature of recent times is the growth in the number of positive contractual understandings between nations in regard to the exchange of goods and services. The impact of these understandings on the promotion of the world-view in the commercial and moral planes is not inconsiderable.

The System of 1860

The Cobden Treaty of 1860 may be said to be the beginning of a new epoch in world-commerce. With it commences the era of commercial treaties, the like of which hardly existed in previous centuries.

The measure was from the British side but a means to the expansion of free-trade ideas and from the French side a camouflage which Napoleon III wanted to exploit in the interest of his political ambitions. Whatever the motives behind it, the commercial complex of a unified "Western Europe" began to grow up as a consequence of the arrangement. A world-economy in the sense of an "international division of labour" seemed almost to be approaching consummation.

The Epoch of 1870-1890

But by the '70's the continental states of Europe as well as the United States of America took a definite stand against the new idea of universalism and went back to the "national" ideal, the system of self-determined and autonomous regula-

tion of international trade-relations. The series of tariff treaties with different nations, was initiated by France. Germany followed suit (1890). A new commercial policy, quite in opposition to the spirit of the Cobden Treaty of 1860, was inaugurated for the world. For, the protection of the home-industry was the first postulate of this new epoch, and as a consequence, the establishment of tariffs, the mainstay of the commercial systems of the world. The rates of customs duties were definitely laid down in the treaties between the nations, and the exchange of goods took place according to this international economic legislation.

Under this nationalistic regime the tariff policies of the states were oriented chiefly to the promotion of exports. The statesman of every nation sought as far as possible "open markets" in foreign lands but at the same time wanted to have "closed doors", if that were practicable, in regard to the imports from abroad.

The Period 1900-1914

This tariff system could not last long. The question of imports had to be attended to by each and every nation in spite of its *swadeshi* fervour. The problem of international trade became complicated and along with it the commercial treaties between states.

Whereas in the '60's of the last century a few "diplomats" sat together and talked over the arrangement in general terms regarding the exports and imports, the twentieth century deliberations have been taking place in the conferences of chemical, engineering, financial and other technical experts. The export and import business of to-day as well as treaties relating thereto require a knowledge of the minutest details concerning the boundaries of states, markets, customs, evidence of origin, description of goods, godowns, transshipment, commercial agents, travelling salesmen, specimen-boxes, packing, forwarding labels. The question of commercial arbitration courts is also one of the items with which the treaty-makers of to-day have to deal.

One result of all these mutual concessions and give-and-take arrangements has consisted in the abandonment, factual if not formal, of the protective system. And although each nation

has treated the others in the most jealous manner conceivable the world trade has got a tremendous fillip on account of all these self-conscious, patriotic energizings in favour of national prosperity. The tariffs have indeed gone higher and higher, but this has been accomplished in almost every instance as the result of deliberation in which the interested parties have had full and free interchange of views. And this is certainly preferable to the system of 1870-1890 with its self-determined and autonomous, in other words, arbitrary regulation of international trade.

International Arrangements of a General Character

These commercial treaties falling as they do within three epochs (1860, 1870-90, 1900-14), were affairs between two interested parties. But real "international" institutions i. e. those of a "general" or universal character have not failed to make their appearance in the meanwhile. We may mention the "International Union for the publication of customs tariffs" established at Brussels in 1890. Then there are the international agreements re. trade in specified commodities, the Congo Acts, the Anti-slavery Acts, the conventions for the protection of working men (Berne), etc. The list should include likewise the sugar convention (Brussels), convention for the protection of industrial property (Paris), convention for the protection of property in literature and art (Berne), and the agreements re. invention, marks, patent, copyright, etc.

Add to all this the other items of "private" international law, viz., those bearing on aliens and their domiciles, capital investments in foreign countries, sanitary and moral measures and so forth and we get an idea of the complex machinery of internationalism such as had been positively governing the commercial and other economic functions of the different nations of the world about the time of the Great War.

VI. World-Economy

The principle of international economic legislation and commercial treaties was not destroyed by the War. Rather, it got accentuated on both sides on account of the war emergencies. Even India had to play a part in this war-time internationalism. India's relations with the Colonies and her place in the Empire Trade as indeed in the whole Imperial system

came home perhaps for the first time to the people at large. And as for other countries, belligerents or neutrals, the epoch of world-citizenship although within limited areas seemed for the first time to dawn as a reality. Agreements between nations re. exports and imports constituted, so to say, the very basis of daily bread and butter in every corner of the world.

Internationalism in Post-War Commerce

In post-war commercial relations the spirit of world-economy as founded on international treaties has embodied itself in no equivocal manner, as previously indicated. Air-navigation, freedom of transit, patent, trade-marks, labour conditions, sanitary measures, oil-concessions and many other items have each been internationalized afresh or for the first time. One cannot say that to-day or previous to 1914 the nations have been guided by an extra dose of the altruistic and philanthropic motives of universalism or world-citizenship. The fundamental urge behind all these internationalizings in commerce lies, apart from the advantages to each nation, in the attempt to bring order out of chaos in the exchange of goods and services between the different parts of the globe. But all the same, one must admit that the solidarity and unification of the world has been actually established by the technical instruments of positive law.

The Waves of Nationalistic Policy.

On the face of it, however, nationalism should seem to have gained the upper hand in the commercial policies of nations as an aftermath of the War. The attempts at economic self-sufficiency with a view to preparedness against the next war belong to A. B. C. of post-war statesmanship in every country. The transformation of agriculture and manufacture brought about by the war is telling on the entire outlook of the nations. Protective tariffs appear to be the chief if not the only effective props to the new industries started in different parts of the world. The war has heightened in every nation likewise the desire to see its men, women and children enjoy as much of material and moral welfare as possible. The result has been an enormous increase in state expenses on "social" items accompanied by corresponding increases in taxation. This has led every nation back to the problem of

of increasing the national dividend, and this in its turn to the attempt at excluding foreigners from the country's markets. Altogether, nationalism is the order of the day here and there and everywhere.

But this wave of nationalism is conditioned by certain natural limitations. And the situation today is to a certain extent almost parallel to that prevailing towards the end of the last century. The most nationalistic of peoples have no choice but to enter into relations of commercial intercourse with other peoples no less nationalistic than they themselves are. And in the tug of war between nationalisms the compromises that ensue are so many different bonds of internationalism.

Internationalization of Capital

In the present instance it is in the field of investment that nationalism has to meet with its most pronounced antidotes. The internationalization of finance has taken rapid strides since the war. The world is today more and more getting to be a single economic complex owing to the capitalistic "community of interests" existing between the financial magnates of different nations. Internationalized capital is not very keen on the sentiments of nationalism or national economy. It is just from the side of capitalists that nationalistic propaganda in its economic aspects tends to encounter its most serious rebuff. And for the same reason the protective system has been acquiring an altogether novel significance in post-war economics. Capital being international, a protective legislation fosters today not simply the so-called national interests but external finance as well.

VII. Economic Preparedness

Commercial people in Bengal will have to draw their own moral from the trend of these world-developments. Some of the old shibboleths will have to be dropped, some of them re-interpreted in the light of the new conditions, others created afresh to suit the changed circumstances of the world.

One thing is clear. The spirit of aloofness or isolation from the rest of the world can have no place in this atmosphere. Commercial Bengal will prosper, if it is to prosper at all, in the closest intercourse with the economic world-forces. The fortunes of the Bengali people are inextricably

bound up with the labour conditions, factory legislation and land-reorganization in Europe, America and Japan. The circumstances attending the mobilization of capital and credit facilities from country to country, the immigration laws obtaining in different lands, as well as the improvements in agriculture and manufacturing processes introduced abroad as the result of industrial and technical research are no less vital for Bengal.

The intimate and firsthand investigation of the conditions of production and exchange prevailing in foreign countries, the statistical reports of the foreign chambers of commerce, consulates and trade commissioners will then appear to be no mere luxuries of the leisured few academicians and research scholars but the inevitable necessities of our everyday commercial existence. To keep an eye on the movements in India's overseas markets and to take interest in the possible substitutes for the articles of our export or to possess information about our latest rivals in the supply of raw produce will have to belong to the daily routine of our commercial men. On the other hand, the changes in the commercial equilibrium of the world brought about by the rise into prominence of new industrial and manufacturing forces or emergence of new commercial alliances, and the possibilities of redistribution in the agents of production, what through specialization and what through territorial division of labour,—all will have to be mastered and assimilated, quantitatively and in a statistical manner, by commercial Bengal as the very foundations of its growth and development. And in order to accomplish all this effectively, a familiarity with the languages and technical literature of the principal commercial nations will have to be deemed an essential element in our economic preparedness towards the struggle for self-assertion.

VIII. New Lines of Commerce

It is necessary also to invite attention to an elementary although very important consideration. For quite a long time we in Bengal have been treating commerce as identical with the buying and selling of goods. Inland trade as well export-import constitute in common Bengali consciousness the whole encyclopædia of commercial transactions.

Our horizon has need to be enlarged. New fields of

commerce remain yet to be exploited by our countrymen. We are still in the kindergarten stage in banking. The business of insurance has hardly yet been taken up by us. And in transportation Bengal's creative contribution to the stream of modern values is virtually nil.

It is desirable to be conscious of these shortcomings in order that we may realise along how many different lines of commerce the Bengali people can still add to the wealth of the country. Banking, insurance and transportation are to be valued not as mere handmaids to buying and selling or inland and foreign trade but as constituting independent items of commerce in themselves.

IX. The Role of Chemists and Engineers

We need a fresh orientation, likewise, to the diverse creative forces in the country. It must be clearly realized that commercial prosperity cannot be achieved unless there is a simultaneous and parallel growth in our agricultural wealth as well as manufacturing power. It is agriculture and industry that furnish the very raw materials of commerce.

The function of commercial people consists fundamentally in the mere transfer of goods or services not only from place to place, but also from person to person and time to time. It is by transfers or movements that commerce creates values. But the goods and services, or in other words, the stuffs to be handled by commercial transactions are the gifts of agriculture and industry. As the background of a prosperous commercial Bengal we have therefore to look for an intensified and modernized agricultural system as well as richly diversified manufacturing institutions. The three arms of the creator of values, although differing as they do in their mode of operation, must have to be attended to in a unified organic policy of national welfare. Every measure, legal or technical, that is calculated to add to the yields of our soils, and every enterprise that helps forward the utilization of our raw produce for semi-manufactures or finished goods in our own districts will have to be watched with the keenest interest by the representatives of our commercial business.

And automatically comes the question of experts in these different lines of economic activity. Bengal needs not only the commercial heads,—bankers, insurance men, stock

specialists, and transportation experts,—but chemists and engineers as well. It is chemistry and engineering that are in urgent demand for the agricultural renaissance and industrial transformation of India. The prosperity of commercial Bengal will depend on the quality, quantity and variety of co-operation that our bankers and other traders can obtain from chemists and engineers. The increasing role of chemistry and engineering will have to be adequately envisaged by the pioneers of Bengali commerce.

CHAPTER XVIII

India's South African Question

Questioned as to what is his opinion on the South African problem Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar said :—

So far as India is concerned the South African question must not be regarded as closed. But it will be necessary for us to present a change of front while attacking the problem in the future.

The problem appears to me to be more complicated than one of simple law or justice. A certain number of our nationals whom the country failed to feed, clothe and house have chosen to be residents of a new land. The law of India did not object to the emigration and evidently the law of South Africa had nothing against the immigration. So there is no difficulty about the legal points involved.

Justice—A Matter of Detail

In regard to justice or righteousness it is a matter of detail. One has but to enquire whether the terms on which the immigrants were received by the individual employers or business corporations have in each instance been duly satisfied. I suppose from the nature of the case certain anomalies and discrepancies are to be expected in this quarter. But the problem should not at this late hour appear to be a knotty one.

But what seems to me to be the most important part of the entire problem is neither the question of law nor the question of justice but an altogether different thing. And that is the problem of the constitution. To what extent is South Africa culturally and sociologically advanced as to evolve a type of democratic polity that would be elastic enough to admit the Africans and Asians (comprising Indians as well as Chinese) to the civic liberties of the modern world? I should expect that South Africa is at present faced with a constitutional crisis. But I wonder how many liberal-thinking

* Forward, Calcutta, 3 October 1926.

progressivist and go-ahead statesmen of this Colony are fully conscious of the responsibilities of their situation.

Multi-Racial State.

Let me be very precise. To-day in 1926 a uni-racial state, if it ever was a reality, is thing of the past. Especially is this true of undeveloped new regions, each one of which is bound to be a multi racial, hetero-national, polyglot state. And here I touch the very foundations of the modern world and the anatomy of contemporary civilisation.

No matter whether it be South Africa or the United States of America or Australia the problem of polity is essentially twofold. In the first place, there is the consideration from the side of migrations. Secondly, one has to remember that to-day the welfare of every individual in the tiniest hamlets, no matter in which corner of the globe, is governed by international conjuncture, the conditions of the world-market, world-economy, as it is called.

Population Movements

First, then, in regard to the migration or export and import of human resources. It would be, as suicidal for South Africa to reject the imports in men and women from India and China as it would be for India and China to boycott British and American machineries and capital resources.

South Africa might afford to do it only on two conditions. First, if Great Britain and Germany were prolific enough. And in the second place, if both of them chose to direct the whole exodus of their surplus labour force exclusively to South Africa. But it is doubtful whether the growing social ideals of "birth control" are going to be sacrificed in the advanced mother-countries in the interest of the Colonies. Sheer self-interest would therefore compel South Africa to be on friendly terms with the Africans Chinese and Indians.

The population resources of the world are going to be distributed to-day and tomorrow as yesterday and day before yesterday according to the demands of "natural traffic", to use an old Ricardian expression.

“Internationalism” and World-Economy

Finally, as regards world-economy. It is regrettable that we too frequently are oblivious of the fact that, both technically as well as spiritually, in the course of one generation the world has been curbed of its dimensions all along the line. And we are perpetually committing the anachronism of employing the social and political instruments, tools and machineries of, say, 1886 to the conditions of to-day. While internationalism is every day making new conquests in human relationships, legal affairs, trade agreements, in politics, hygiene, social welfare and what not, the statesmen in certain fields seem to believe that the spirit of splendid isolation or exclusion is likely to be of some avail until an inevitable hour. But this at best is only a blind and passive policy of drifting, if a policy of some sort it is!

Rationing of Empire Resources

Questioned if he had any constructive suggestion to give Prof. Sarkar said : —“I invite my countrymen as well as the representative thinkers of South Africa to assume their role as moral agents in a self-conscious manner with the definite aim of controlling the future of mankind on a rational and well thought-out plan. Exports and imports of men and women constitute some of the most basic items of commercial and civic existence. And to this the brains of an Indo-African Union should be applied in the give-and-take spirit of mutuality,—with a view to the co-operative control of population movements in such a manner as to ensure the greatest amount of welfare among the parties concerned. This indeed is but an aspect of the much larger problem, viz. that of an international control over foreign capital investments on the one hand and the distribution of raw materials and foodstuffs among the varied nations of the world.

This brings me automatically to the question of Empire Development. Among the many problems that face the British Empire to-day there is the question of Indians getting outlet for her increasing population. India cannot afford to overlook the possibilities of, say, South Africa and Australia. It seems to me that we are to-day but just at the beginning of a new epoch in which the Empire intellects will have to club themselves year in and year out, with headquarters naturally

in London, for a systematic rationing of the Empire resources in men, materials, fuel and finance for the uplift of the different parts to the next higher stage in economic evolution of which each is capable.

I should suggest that as a preliminary to the more substantial constitutional and economic programme involved in these ideas a permanent cultural exchange or exchange of authors, journalists, professors etc. be immediately established between India and South Africa.

CHAPTER XIX

The Philosophy of the Naughty*

The annual ceremony of the Eden Hindu Hostel came off on Wednesday the 29th September. The prizes were distributed to the successful athletes and sportsmen of the Hostel. There were musical and comic performances and "Chandragupta" was staged. The function was presided over by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar whose address began as follows:—"A few days ago I had a conversation with a distinguished leader. He said that the young men of to day have grown naughty, they have no respect for the opinions of the elders."

The New Spirit

Prof. Sarkar said that it was the spirit of the naughty that satisfied his soul the most and that during all his career it has not been possible for him to agree with the elders or the leading men. Even previous to his foreign travels his attitude in regard to educational and cultural problems was different from that of the leaders. In foreign countries also he had to maintain the same difference from the accepted view-points and postulates of contemporary social science. Now that he has come back he finds himself in the same attitude of divergence from the prevailing opinions.

The Naughty vs. Traditionalist

He believes that Eden Hindu Hostel has been a fountain-head of many momentous movements in Bengali life. And although the youngmen of to-day appear to the elders to be obstinate and perverse, so far as he was concerned he was prepared to believe that a new Bengal was really in the making in the naughtinesses of these youngsters. So he would like to say a few things on the philosophy of the naughty.

The naughty differs from the goody, the traditionalist,

* Reported in *Welfare*, Calcutta, November, 1926.

mainly in the standpoint that while the latter looks upon the present world as perhaps the ideally best conceivable and is ever ready to find justification for all that is happening in it, the former believes that there might be another world better than what he has to-day, and that human beings are meant to be higher than what they find themselves. The naughty begins his life with a doubt, with a question, with a challenge.

Crookednesses,—Physical and Moral

Prof. Sarkar said that Bengali youngmen do not walk straight, their backbones are crooked. This is a tremendous fact which taken with other physical defects such as nervousness, mannerisms etc. combine to make of Young Bengal a very poor specimen of humanity by the world-standard. But the philosophy of the naughty would challenge this state of things and he would ask his countrymen to consider whether this should be regarded as almost an eternal dispensation of Providence.

The lecturer remarked also that moral crookedness, insincerity even among friends, mutual distrust and jealousy were likewise some of the characteristics of the Bengali people, not excluding the highest and the best. He had occasion to notice these regrettable features not only at home but also abroad. He asked whether we should look upon these moral defects as inseparable attributes of Bengali character or whether it is possible to think of a Bengali society in which these defects should be more or less things of the past.

Then the lecturer expounded what he described as the *Vedanta Sutras* of the Naughty. These aphorisms he classified into five groups-

India advancing along Right Lines

1. Whereas the traditionalist believes that India has been going down and down in the scale of civilisation in modern times, the philosophy of the naughty asserts that quite contrary is the fact. In Prof. Sarkar's judgment India to-day has been advancing along the same lines of development, cultural and political, as America, Germany, France, Japan etc. The villages, guilds, and agricultural systems as

well as constitutions, laws, manners and customs of the Middle Ages have disappeared from the more advanced countries of the world in the 19th century. India's experience in recent times is identical, and while the traditionalist regrets this change the naughty is happy over it. There is no ground for pessimism so far as India's cultural or spiritual growth is concerned.

Economically India not Worse Off

2. In regard to economic matters the traditionalist believes that India has been getting poorer in modern times. The attitude of the naughty is exactly the opposite. He believes that India's prosperity to-day is evident in the growth and expansion of municipalities and towns, the erection of comparatively solid buildings and dwelling houses, the development of transportation, increase in the amount of comforts and luxuries of life which larger numbers of men and women can command, and so forth. On this question the naughty would employ the same method of observation by which the economic well-being of European countries was visualized.

He said that the idea that India is being drained of her wealth by foreign trade is absolutely false. He wants us to remember that while jute, cotton, oilseeds and hides and skins are being shipped to foreign countries we ourselves have been draining foreign countries of their machineries, tools and implements, scientific apparatuses, motor lorries, rolling stocks and so forth for our own economic development. It is not true that India was more prosperous in ancient and mediaeval times than to-day as it is not true that England, France, Germany and other European countries were economically better off in the past than in the present.

Expansion of the Middle Class

3 The traditionalist always harps upon the alleged miseries of the middle class and points to the unemployment situation amongst them as an instance of India's growing poverty. In Prof. Sarkar's analysis the philosophy of the naughty would say that the situation has been thoroughly misinterpreted. During the last half a century or so modern education in India has led to the creation of a new society

out of the old. Not only the so-called *Bhadralok* but the lower orders as well have been able to rise economically as well as socially by participating in the schools and colleges, and the number of such educated men and women has been annually on the increase. Many of those persons who belong to the middle class to-day could not be described as belonging to the same class in 1815 and 1857, nay, 1886. In other words, there has been going on under our very eyes a social revolution and class-transformation of a stupendous consequence.

Under these circumstances the salaries or earnings that a Bengali middleclass man can command to-day may to a certain extent have naturally gone down per head, if we confine our observations to individual cases. But one must note that the total amount of wealth that the middle class commands to-day is considerably larger than what it was 30, 50, or 70 years ago. It may be true that there is suffering among certain sections of the middle class in India as in every other country. But this is no indication that the country as a whole or that the entire middle class to-day is worse off. On the other hand, for the last twenty years or so many of the self-conscious energists and adventurous spirits in Bengal have been attempting with varied success different lines of economic enterprise in foreign trade, insurance, factory work, loan offices and so forth. Their impact on the country's standard of living and efficiency must not be ignored or minimized.

Workingmen the Backbone of the New Society

4. The traditionalist ignores as a rule the condition of the working class and the peasants. The philosophy of the naughty on the contrary tries to take the whole view of India's economic situation. It asserts that in the matter of dwelling houses and in the articles of daily food and clothing the peasants of the villages have been rising as economic agents. Likewise is the condition of the working class in the factories, so far as the necessities of life are concerned, on the improving scale. This is another aspect of the social revolution going on in India at the present moment.

And here the lecturer wanted to emphasise the fact that for future considerations we should have to look upon neither

the middle class nor the peasants but the working men of the factories as the real backbone of Bengali society. He said that to-day in all India there were only 15 lacs of working men and women employed in about 6 thousand factories and workshops. This is nothing compared to the strength of working men and women in a single European country. What is wanted is the industrialisation of the Bengali districts, the establishment of factories at all important centres which might absorb the superfluous men and women of the villages leaving agriculture to the remaining few. These factories would on the other hand create occupations for the growing intellectuals as office clerks, supervisors, inspectors and technical experts.

Labour Philosophy and Genuine Democracy

According to the lecturer the absence of India's interest in the economics and social philosophy of labour was another evidence of the backwardness of Indian men and women in contemporary civilisation. As long indeed as the power of the working-classes organized in unions was not felt by the Indian employers and the moneyed classes in industrial and social life India could not be described as civilized or cultured in the latest sense.

In Europe and America it was the trade unions and labour movements that were responsible for the little of genuine democracy that there is in the economic and political fields of modern Western activity. Should India care to taste a bit of this modern democracy, a thing by the bye which was unknown in the East or the West in the Middle Ages and in the ancient world, Indians would have to develop a powerful labour force in society on the lines of the nineteenth century evolution. By the tests of labour-economics India was to-day perhaps where the Western world had been between 1832 and 1875. The progress in Eur-America achieved in democracy since 1886 was inconceivable to Indians at the present moment.

Real Vital Statistics

Judged by the world-standard Bengal was very far behind the times in all respects indeed. It was wrong to suppose that Bengal is inhabited by 4 crores of human beings. Statistics is not the science of mere number. Quality, efficiency,

character these are the items which must be considered while numbering the inhabitants of a country. The number of 100 per cent human beings, in other words, of men and women who are physically fit to live and morally competent enough to discharge the functions of social life is the chief thing in all vital statistics. Roughly speaking, Prof. Sarkar was prepared to say that while India with its so-called 30 crores does not possess in reality more than 3 lacs of men and women Great Britain on the contrary with its $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores perhaps possesses at least $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores. And from this standpoint he asked the audience to evaluate the present situation in Bengal. Although the lines of evolution were the same in India as in Europe the rate of progress in India was much too slow, and the amount of progress very inconsiderable.

Wanted a Greater India.

5. The fifth *Sutra* in the *Vedanta* of the Naughty relates to India's relations with foreign civilisation. While the traditionalist is perpetually emphasising the importance of India as the source of inspiration for Indian patriots the philosophy of the Naughty would divert their attention to the great spiritual events of life abroad. Prof. Sarkar asked the audience to ascertain if there was any single great man, any single movement of substantial importance in India from the days of Rajah Rammohun to Madhusudan Dutt and thence to Chittaranjan, Ashutosh Mukherjee and Rabindranath Tagore etc., in which the West has not played the leading formative part. In his judgment not only the schools and colleges of India but all the economic activities of our Swadeshi movement, the entire social reform and social service propaganda, the total wealth of contemporary Bengali literature, each one of these items is an offshoot and embodiment of Western spirituality.

He would rather advise his countrymen not to play hide and seek with Western civilisation but consciously and deliberately to go ahead in the attempts at mastering and assimilating it. The greatest need of the hour is the establishment of a Greater India in foreign countries. Bengali men and women such as have already had their highest education in Indian institutions and have also spent some time in actual professional work as doctors, lawyers, journalists, authors,

musicians, bankers, insurance agents, etc., should make it a point to live in foreign countries during several periods of their life and thereby establish continuous streams of connection between the great creative forces of the Western world and Indian towns and villages.

CHAPTER XX

What is Greater India ?*

The historical study of the expansion of Indian civilization, politics and commerce outside the physical boundaries of India in ancient and mediaeval as well as modern times is certainly one main aspect of the functions to which the "Greater India" Society will address itself. But the concept of Greater India is wider than that of Indians overseas, whether in the past or in the present.

The World-Test.

We have to remember that there is but one world-standard by which the races of men are being examined in the scale of civilisation. And as with potatoes, oranges and apples, men and women in the different parts of the world also are being graded as No 1, No 2, No 3, etc. in order of merit, physical, intellectual, and moral.

When I speak of the Greater India of ancient, mediaeval or modern history, I visualise numbers of Indian men, institutions and movements,—merchants, monarchs; missionaries, scholars, craftsmen,—that were being tested along with their peers of other races according to some universally recognised common measure of values. And they were being passed as 40%, 50%, 70%, 80% human beings. It is the world-test, the common denominator, the international balance, that underlies the achievements of Greater India. We are led to feel that the remarkable personalities of India were remarkable not through any parochial, Indian competition but by comparison with the Greeks, the Romans, the Chinese, the Saracens and, the other makers of the world's history.

In my way of looking at things, the problem before us at the present moment is to consciously create those sets of

* Report of a Bengali address at the inaugural meeting of the Greater India Society (Rammohan Library, Calcutta), 10 October, 1925.

circumstances by which Indians in every walk of life may have their mettle tested in the same laboratories and workshops where the Germans, Americans, Japanese, English and Frenchmen are being examined. The India of today and tomorrow will have to invite and face an open world-competition and establish its title to life by the universal standard of culture. It is the processes involved in these competitive tests that constitute the web of Greater India.

Indian Missions Abroad.

The processes are really two-fold. In the first place, India will have to send out her sons and daughters to foreign countries in ever increasing number. Not every Indian that goes abroad is of course to be an archaeologist or antiquarian, interested in investigating the relics of ancient Indian life and thought in Central Asia, China, Japan, Indo-China or the Indian Archipelago. No; the Indian travellers in Asia, Europe, Africa and America will often be traders, medical men, industrialists, politicians, artists, students of science and philosophy. Nay, very many of the Indians overseas are likely to be emigrants in the strictest sense of the term, settled abroad as working men's colonies, as constituting labour or agricultural force. Economically situated as she is, India is bound to export her sons and daughters to the under-populated regions of the world.

India's exports in men and women have already given rise to a problem in Colonial and American politics. And we may be sure that the Greater India movement, so far as this aspect of the question is concerned, bids fair to be an important factor in the international commerce and culture of the coming decades. And Indians will have many occasions of being tried by the world-standard because of these population movements.

The Study of Asian and European Languages.

Secondly, Greater India implies to me a state of things in which Indians at home are attempting to master the languages of Central Asia, China, Japan, Indo-China, Java etc. as well as of Persia, Mesopotamia and Northern Africa in order that the perspectives of world-economy and world-culture in

which Indian civilisation played a part may be brought home to us from first-hand sources. We have to initiate among our historical scholars as well as popularise among our countrymen in general the knowledge of the languages and literature of Asia. If the Indians of history have made that history by collaborating with the Central, Eastern, Western and Southern Asians through the ages, we of today must have to begin by deciphering the dialects in which are embodied the records of those Indo-Persian, Indo-Chinese and Indo-Japanese commercial and cultural inter-relations.

Young India will likewise have to understand the peoples of modern Persia in Persian and of modern China in Chinese. Let me single out the importance of Japanese language for our life. Modern India's relations with Japan in the field of commerce have been developing at a rapid rate. The Japanese understand the significance of their Indian trade and have commenced taking interest in India and propagating diverse information relating to India broadcast in their own country. India cannot afford to neglect the study of things Japanese at first hand by mastering Japanese language as well as cultivating intimate personal intercourse with Japan at home and abroad.

It will not be enough to know only the Asian languages and literature, ancient or modern. We have to be well-up in the living languages of Europe as well. German, French, Russian, Dutch, Spanish and Italian are some of the languages rich in historical documents or scholarly investigations bearing on Asia, past and present. Naturally, therefore, as apostles of Greater India we have to encourage the study of these European languages among our countrymen.

India as Self-determined Appraiser

Once we can institute a number of Indian missions abroad and at the same time cultivate for some time the study of the Asian and European languages at home, we shall have built up not only a Greater India but a Deeper India as well. India will expand not only in geographical limits but will grow more profound in culture and more intense in spiritual experience. The world-view will become an item

of daily life and constant occurrence in our towns and villages. China, Japan, Persia, Germany, America and other countries will begin to establish permanent homes in our souls.

The result of this deepening of life and intensification of scholarship in India will be monumental. In the first place, Young India will be enabled to function as a self-determined and independent appraiser of the world's material and cultural values, which as yet it is not to any appreciable extent. And finally, this is my conviction, it is only when we are in intimate intercourse with the other peoples of the world and have given birth to a Greater India that we shall once more be in a position to count among us "legion" of men like Kumarajiva whose energism and *digvijaya* (world-conquest) were not matters of merely Indian concern but proved to be things of universal importance.

CHAPTER XXI

The Problems of Young China

The following is an interview that a representative of *Forward* had with Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar on the "Problems of Young China."

Q.—Have you been following the developments in China to-day?

A.—Yes, as much as one understands them through the publication of news in the dailies. The movements in China to-day are to be regarded more as expressions of a new life, of a growing discontent with the existing state of things than as embodiments of actual social or national progress. To me, at any rate, there does not seem to be anything new being reported from China. The world has got used to such stories since the Revolution of 1912. But all the same, one has to admit that Young China's tenacity and strenuousness are continuously at work. There is noticeable a steady although chequered progress towards self-conscious and self-determined existence.

Q.—What then do you think of the present happenings in China?

A.—One does not seem to get a clear idea from the daily telegrams. The military efforts of the Chinese may not be as imposing as one is led to believe.

The anti-foreign aspects of the Chinese events are perhaps being exaggerated. For we must remember that in China to-day, there are really three or four different wars going on simultaneously and it would not be right to emphasise the international, that is, the anti-foreign aspect to the exclusion of other factors.

Four Different Wars

Q.—What other complications do you suspect in the Chinese affairs?

A.—I should say that the first kind of war in point of time is the political or constitutional. The second is international. Third and last in point of time, although not the least in value is economic.

Q :—Why, then, do you believe that the international aspects are being emphasised in telegrams ?

A :—To a certain extent the anti-foreign movement is an undoubted fact in Young China's life. It has been so since the Opium War, in the middle of 19th century and especially since the abortive Boxer revolt at the end of the century. Whenever there is any agitation of some importance among the Chinese it very easily assumes the character of hatred against the "foreign devil" as they say in China. But in the present instance, perhaps this aspect of the situation is being brought to the forefront in the interests of certain powers who intend to utilise this opportunity in order to make a firm demonstration—military, naval and aerial,—such as may have a lesson not only on China and the Chinese but also on some of the powers interested in the Far Eastern and Pacific developments.

1. Mofussil vs. Metropolis

Q :—What sort of constitutional struggles are, in your view, introducing complications in the present situation ?

A :—The constitutional troubles in China are mainly two-fold and one of them is really almost as old as Chinese history. But it is still persistent in acute form. The other is but half a century old and has come into prominence with the establishment of the Republic. And unless as outsiders we be prepared to take note of these constitutional conflicts, we are not likely to understand the problems that young China is really trying to solve.

Q :—Will you give me some idea of the constitutional questions which, as you say, are as old as Chinese history, and are still awaiting solution ?

A :—The trouble arises from the simple fact that China was in the past and continues to be in the present but a geographical expression. Even the strongest empires achieved under the greatest Chinese Napoleons of ancient and mediaeval times were never sufficiently unified or central-

ised states. Chinese empires were but so many Holy Roman Empires, examples of thorough-going disintegration and absence of homogeneous structural uniformity. The provinces were virtually independent of one another as well as of the metropolis.

Q :—How do you account for this phenomenon in Chinese politics ?

A :—In the first place, China is a huge continent and must be regarded in terms of space as similar to Europe.

In the second place, the physical barriers between province and province, especially in pre-industrial epochs were almost insurmountable. Intercourse between the provinces was as out of the question or rather difficult as that between the provinces and the Imperial capital. Neither in finance nor in legislation, nor in regard to the military control could a real imperial unity be established, if at all, for any length of time. These difficulties have not yet disappeared.

Thirdly, the differences between the provinces in point of races as well as dialect are immense.

These difficulties are of the same order as kept Europe in the ancient and mediaeval times in a decentralised, constantly warring condition. And as in Europe, so also in China, the absence of the representative system, like the absence of good roads and means of communication, has all along kept the provinces almost independent of one another. The provinces of China used to declare their independence of the Empire in season and out of season, and that is exactly the situation to-day. The fight between the Capital and Mofussil, or in other words, the struggle between the Empire and Provinces was and is the eternal question in the political and military history of China. Whenever a provincial General or Governor considers himself a little bit strong he sends an ultimatum to the Empire because he is fully conscious that the Empire cannot subdue him. And so China is in perpetual rebellion.

The wars of to-day of Canton against Peking or Mukden against Peking are but the twentieth century continuation of what has always happened in China under the Hans, the Tangs, the Sungs, the Mongols and the Manchus.

2. The Fight over the Constitution

Q :—What then is the other constitutional fight and which you consider to be of recent origin ?

A :—In fact the first conflict which I have just described is rather political than constitutional, something like the problems that were finally solved in the United States by the civil war of 1870 or by the wars of Central Europe which about the same time finally led to the establishment of the late German Empire. •

But the real constitutional fight in China began some forty years ago with the attempts of Kang Yu-wei to introduce reforms in the monarchy on the modern European principle. The establishment of the Republic in 1912 and especially the life-long propaganda of Dr Sun Yat-sen has introduced the problem of democracy as a real spiritual force in China's

practical experience and philosophical outlook. For the last fifteen years, we have been seeing therefore in China a genuine struggle, not always very extensive although, but none the less quite sincere, that is being fought over the question of a constitutional and democratic republic. The military-minded statesmen as well as generals have very often been trying to wreck the constitution.

The most prominent example of militaristic re-action taking the shape of even a monarchical *coup d'état* is the attempt of Yuan Shih-kai (1916) which, however, proved to be a fiasco. In spite of that, ambitious military leaders have not been wanting to take advantage of their hold upon the soldiers to declare war upon the constitution.

Democracy a Living Principle

Q.—To what extent, do you believe, is the constitutional and democratic principle a living thing in Chinese public life ?

A :—In the nature of the case, it cannot be a very profound and well-distributed force. China's millions are illiterate and uneducated. The villages have hardly any political institution, worth mentioning, excepting, if at all, the primitive rural organisations. The guilds existing in the important commercial centres are certainly economic asso-

ciations of a prominent character. And although in their internal management, the Chinese guilds are democratic to a degree, there is hardly any legal or constitutional means of converting them into the organs of public opinion for the purposes of larger territorial political assemblies. And finally, the modern parliamentary institutions or industrial and financial organisations have been until a few years ago conspicuous by their absence. Consequently, a real democratic experience is hardly to be expected even among the higher intellectual classes, not to speak of the masses.

But it should be observed that the fight in China is, in reality, confined within the circles of the upper ten thousands of intellect and official or social position. The masses do not count for much either on the side of democrats and reactionaries or of the militarists and republicans. If we orient ourselves to this situation in the social web of life, we should find that the democratic and republican tendencies still constitute really a powerful element in the public life of young China. I should not venture on any exact statistical classification but my impression is that the modern-educated intellectuals, especially those who happen to live in "Treaty-ports" or in their environs are as a rule democrats and republicans. And really these men are pioneering the new enterprises in China. It is on their support that philosophical leaders like Liang Chichiao, the great follower of Kang Yu-wei, have to depend for all progressive activities.

International Complications.

Q.—I shall now ask you to explain how these constitutional and political difficulties of China get mixed up with the international complications.

A.—Since the Boxer revolt was crushed by the combined foreign powers, young China has really had not a day of rest—and not a moment of good-feeling towards them. But as soon as there are civil wars in China, whether on the provincial or republican issue, the leaders do not hesitate to take help from the foreigners. And these foreigners again in their turn compete among themselves, sometimes even semi-officially and as a rule non-officially, to interfere in the affairs of different parties. It often happens therefore that a republican party is supported by a certain foreign power whereas the power, that is its diplo-

matic rival in world-politics supports the reactionary party. The civil wars of China, in other words, the provincial rebellions and constitutional struggles thus automatically take the shape of international war-preparations.

3. Aliendom in Law, Judiciary and Tariff

Q.—But what grievence do the Chinese as a nation have against the foreigners as such ?

A.—The most important is the right of the foreigners to live in China as if they are living on their own soil. This is called extra-territoriality. The Frenchmen in China do not have to obey the Chinese laws. They have their own post offices, their own courts and so forth and live as if they are in France. These privileges are enjoyed by Japanese, Americans, Englishmen, Italians and other leading nations. China's sovereignty does not exist. This is the most noticeable in the ports which have been "opened" by treaties. These are called international settlements, where the Chinese live almost as a subject race.

Take the case of Shanghai—the most important of these cities. Here the Chinese population is about one million and they pay seventy per cent of rates and taxes and yet they have no right to vote.

I shall now give an instance from the court of justice. The cases between the persons of different nationalities are tried according to the treaties. Between a Frenchman and a Japanese, China will have no right to interfere in adjudication. No Chinese authorities can search the house, boat or property of any foreigners on Chinese territory.

Another grievance of China consists in the compulsion to accept the tariff regulations imposed by the foreign powers. China is not at liberty to levy more than a uniform rate of 5 p. c. ad valorem on foreign goods. The revision of these tariff treaties is one of the most important problems in the relation between China and the foreign powers. Even the Washington Agreement of 1925 between the powers in regard to Chinese tariff, although liberal to a certain extent, does not go far enough. Young China's demands today are much higher.

Anti-Foreign Sentiments and Achievements

Q.—Is there any new circumstance in addition to these more or less permanent conditions that incite China to anti-foreign outbursts ?

A.—I should believe there is hardly any. China is in a state of perpetual antipathy to foreigners because of the standing humiliation to which she has to submit in every walk of life as well as in every important region. But of course, it is not difficult for China to get occasions for special outbursts because the foreign powers themselves are not equally friendly to one another.

The Chinese leaders know how to make demonstrations against Japan when they get the backing of anti-Japanese Europeans or Americans. Similarly, certain sections of young China would be ready to rise against a certain European power if the moral and other support are forthcoming from, say, America, Russia or Japan.

One of the greatest opportunities for China's assertion of sovereignty came during the Great War. This consisted in the expulsion of Germany and Austria-Hungary from the Chinese Territory through "allied" influence. It seems to me that the manner in which the Europeans were fighting amongst themselves has been a tremendous object lesson to the Chinese and has been a strong factor in the heightening of their demands against the foreigners in post-war intercourse.

I have just read a letter written by a German living in North Manchuria and published in a Bavarian Journal, the *Sueddeutsche Monatshefte* of Munich. It says in part as follows:—"An English merchant in Manchuria told me that one of the greatest stupidities of the Treaty of Versailles consisted in the repudiation of the German extraterritorial rights in China. The Chinese have since then learnt to be arrogant and chauvinistic in their relations with the Europeans. The day on which they occupied the German quarter in Peking is a real red-letter day in the history of young China. That is the beginning of the end of white rule on China's soil. And for this, the responsibility lies on the shoulders of those white men who wished to see Germany humiliated at any cost."

Q :—Do you believe that the end of the white man's rule is at hand in China ?

A:—It does not seem to me to be a question of practical politics for a long time yet. China's sentiment against the foreigners is certainly very deep and it may take the form of boycotts, demonstrations and even occasional military actions. But all these strivings should not mislead one into the belief that China is financially, industrially or culturally equipped enough to undertake a successful war of liberation.

Bolshevik Influence in China.

Q:—What value do you attach to Bolshevik influence in China's recent affairs ?

A:—The word "Bolshevism" is very elastic. I do not really understand what it means. So far as Soviet Russia is concerned, it appears to me that Bolshevism in actual accomplishments is virtually an application in Russian conditions of some of the latest educational, social and economic legislation of the more advanced Western-European countries like England, France and Germany.

The Russian revolution has sought to propagate among the Russians very many of the ideas and practices which have become part and parcel of contemporary civilised life, especially in England, France and Germany, on account of the constitutional, industrial and social reforms of the 19th century.

But I believe people very often use the word Bolshevism to describe things which for one reason or another they happen to hate. And may be, when the newspapers report Bolshevik intrigues in China, we do not have to understand anything more than the fact that the interests of certain powers are most probably at stake owing to the self-conscious energisings of the Chinese patriots.

Q:—But, in any case don't you think that Russia is like the other powers also a factor in the international politics of China ?

A.—Yes, Russia can to-day, as she did under the Czars, influence certain sections of China against certain European powers who happen to be her rivals in world-politics. But it is not safe to postulate that Sovietism as a creed in its extreme communistic forms is more powerful among the Chinese ex-

tremists than among the extremists of England, France, Germany, Italy etc.

Young China's military demonstrations against certain foreign powers need not offhand be described as experiments in Bolshevism even when some sort of moral or other support came from the Russian side. I have already said that it is quite possible for China's leaders, whether reactionary, liberal or radical, to expect support from one or other foreign power simply because of the reason that the powers are hostile to one another.

4. Economic Warfare

Q:—Will you now give me some hint as to how the economic warfare is going on in China alongside of the constitutional and international ?

A:—As I said, the economic warfare is chronologically the last to make its appearance in Chinese politics. It is nothing but the world-wide struggle between labour forces on the one side and capital on the other. And here we must remember that this conflict, so far as China is concerned, can not be described as a civil war pure and simple. Because, although the labour force is exclusively Chinese, capital power is represented not only by the Chinese but by foreigners as well. When the Chinese labourer strikes, his war is directed neither against the European, American or Japanese employer as such. The war is directed against capitalism as a force in modern economy. This aspect of the recent happenings in China has its ideological affiliations with corresponding phenomena in every industrialised or semi-industrial country of the present-day world.

Q:—And what are the demands of the Chinese in this economic struggle ?

A:—They are too well-known to be specially described. The slogan is universal, viz. higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions of living. And with this ultimatum, when the Chinese marches against an employer, be he yellow or white, it should not be right to describe the movement as anti-Western. You will now understand why I began with the critical attitude in regard to the present affairs in China being specially reported as evidences of anti-foreign outbursts.

Industrialization and International Finance

Q.—I should like to ask you finally about the general prospects of China's progress in the near future.

A :—As I said, I am cautious in interpreting the movements in China. I take them to be symptoms of a spiritual awakening and conscious efforts to do away with the forces that make for reaction, lead to humiliation and engender depressing poverty. But the work in terms of achievements must be regarded as very uphill. China needs finance and that is a thing which does not come only by demonstrations, sentiments in favour of boycott, and occasional strikes and street processions. These, however, must be evaluated as great life-building processes. The really solid pieces of work will be exhibited by China as soon as she becomes industrialized ; and for this industrialisation China will have to submit to a long period of international capital administered mainly under foreign guidance.

For the rehabilitation of China's sovereignty as well as advance along the paths to democracy, I am prepared for a period of tutelage in finance and all the unpleasant external control it implies.

China's growth is going to be a tremendous factor in Asian culture and politics. And since India is almost in every respect but one step ahead of China, it is desirable that our countrymen should watch and study every phase in the month to month developments of our great, fallen neighbour.

CHAPTER XXII

Indian Match Factories and Anti-Trust Legislation *

The question is not so much of a foreign trust as of a trust itself. My way of looking at the question of safeguarding the interests of the Indian match industry is as follows :—Protection of what is tantamount to protection has already been agreed upon as a principle. We do not therefore have to discuss it afresh. The only question for us is to see to it that the Government maintains the protective tariff in future. And from the side of our manufacturers the fundamental consideration is to prove to the Tariff Board that on account of the tariff they have been able to improve the quality of their products as well as better the business organization, because it seems to me that these facts will be strong evidence on their behalf with regard to the efficacy of protection.

I also suggest to our match manufacturers that they should urge upon the Government to give them some positive aids. For instance, the question of freight such as may render the supply of Indian woods at convenient prices will have to be studied sympathetically by the Government. I do not know whether researches in the quality of Indian timber have been undertaken by the Government in an adequate manner. If so, the next question for us will be to organise both official and unofficial commercial means for rendering these woods easily available to the industry.

But the most serious problem that threatens the Indian match manufacturers at the present moment is the existence of the Svenska (Swedish) Trust on Indian soil. I should like to invite your attention to the consideration that we are here facing a problem of competition not so much from a

* Lecture at a Conference of the manufacturers of matches from all parts of India held at the office of Kar Company, Calcutta, 27 December, 1926.

foreign syndicate as from a syndicate as such. It is desirable to be very clear in our minds as to the distinction that I am making between a syndicate or trust in itself and a foreign syndicate or trust. The business methods, the technical organization, the marketing facilities, etc. of a syndicate or a trust are always and in every country the same, no matter whether the trust or syndicate happens to be the concern of indigenous or of foreign capital and direction. The trusts are trusts and have to be dealt with and fought as trusts.

In the present instance the Indian match manufacturers find themselves in the position of pigmies, independent of one another and perhaps without any co-ordination either in regard to the purchase of raw materials or the sale of their products. Face to face with them there is a huge organization of capital, technical knowledge, business ability, world-wide experience as well as the momentum of strategic successes in diverse fields. If we have to move against such an organization, the fundamental weapon with us should be economic. It is desirable to find out, in the first place, whether it is possible for the petty, small-sized, and medium Indian manufacturers to establish one or more combinations such as may render them more or less strong enough to withstand the competition of the mammoth organization. I should say that our match industry must have to move along this line in the near future. In the second place, perhaps it may not be inadvisable for the Indian manufacturers to come to some sort of understanding between themselves and the Swedish Trust. It seems to me that it may not be impossible to organize an exchange of views and establish certain zones for the marketing of Indian as well as Swedish products.

These, I say, are the real economic methods of procedure. But should these methods happen to fail or even while working along these lines, it may also be necessary to find out exactly in what manner the Swedish Trust has been damaging the interests of the Indian match manufacturers. We have to find out, for instance, to what extent the Swedish products are capturing the Indian market simply because of better qualities, cheaper prices or other conveniences such as can be offered by extensive technical and commercial experience at the command of the Trust. We have also to ascertain, on the other hand, as to what extent the Trust is using under-hand and commercially immoral or illegal

methods. It is diserable that the Indian match manufacturers as well as the Indian public should know how far under-selling is a tactic that is being practised by the Trust.

I repeat that for the present it is not yet perhaps absolutely necessary to complain that it is the foreign nationality of the syndicate that is the cause of danger to the Indian match manufacturers. Perhaps it is a syndicate, the business methods of the syndicates, some of which are illegal or immoral and commercially condemnable that are responsible for a great part of the troubles in which we find ourselves.

I am not one of those who would condemn trusts simply because they are trusts. There is nothing unfair if a trust buys up small organization. It is in the nature of a large capitalistic organization to try to possess command over raw materials or keep them under its own control. In regard to the marketing of its goods also, a trust is sure to be able to use the latest advertisement agencies and exploit all the second grade or third-grade manufacturers as its branch offices. These features of trust organizations are indeed inevitable and as a rule beneficial to the community simply because of the fact that they apply the most tremendous economy in production as well as in sale. It is only when a trust, in addition to the natural technical advantages which belong to them as a matter of course, goes out of its way and carry on a war of extermination by hook or by crook against the weaker members of the same business that it runs the risk of being penalized by legislation.

Let me make my point clear. Suppose a number of large capitalists, all of Indian origin, were to organise themselves into a trust. And suppose they had the technical capacity as well as the business organization varied and extensive enough to start match factories not only in India but in different parts of the world as well. What do you think would have been their tactics in order to strangle the small and medium-sized match factories that we represent here today? Do you believe that the methods, fair or foul, of that Indian Trust would have been different from what are being practised by the Swedish Trust in India? My answer is an emphatic "no". As I have said, trusts are trusts. The methods of an Indian trust would be identical with those of a foreign trust. An Indian trust would have no sympathy with or respect for the petty, cottage or

small industries in the manufacture of matches, although they were in the hands of the Indian people.

Look to Sweden. Even in that country the Swedish Trust, the Svenska, that is out to strangle the match industries of India and other countries is, not an unrivalled commercial concern. It is being opposed by other Swedish institutions more or less of the same character. Look to the United States. There is a number of American firms that are interested in the Swedish Svenska, but there are other American firms who are opposed to it and are building up rival combinations in the manufacture of matches. There is the case of Japan. Here also there is a number of Japanese capitalists who are helping the business of the Swedish Trust Svenska in Japan itself. Thus they are competing with other Japanese match manufacturers in their own country.

The sum and substance of my remarks can be given in one word. Patriotism or nationalism in business exists neither in Sweden nor in America nor in Japan. In the matter of the Swedish Trust in India, we should therefore be business-like enough to realize that we have here a Trust and nothing but a Trust to fight and expose its unfair and foul methods in every possible manner. It is only when we have been able to make out a strong case for ourselves by proving to the community, first, that the Indian match manufacturers have grown in technical ability as well as in mutual co-ordination, and secondly that the methods of competition followed by the Swedish Trust in India are not the methods of honest business that we shall be able to convince the Government that an anti-Trust legislation is an absolute necessity. I should therefore request you, representatives of Indian match factories, to unite your efforts in regard to the question of making a powerful impression upon the legislative authorities as well as the Tariff Board to the effect that a fair and honest business of the Indian people has need to be protected for another period both from external and internal dangers of all sorts.

If the ordinary economic and legal methods fail to achieve the desired result, namely, the protection of small and medium industries against a large corporation or trust, I should not object to recommending the levy of an excise on the latter in the interest of the former. But in that case

the justification for the excise would consist neither in the fact that the corporation is a foreign concern nor that it has been pursuing immoral or illegal tactics but in the fact that the economies employed by a mammoth industrial institution, although quite desirable in the interest of the consumers, have to a certain extent to be combated by the community and the state in order to afford chances of growth and development to small capitalists. The amount of sacrifice that the community is to be called upon by the state to undergo on account of this excise will determine the rate at which it should be levied.

CHAPTER XXIII

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce *

It seems to me that I have hardly anything to say in addition to what Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas has said in describing the stages that have led to the establishment of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce which is being formally announced in the present resolution. My part in seconding this resolution consists, however, in inviting your attention as well as the attention of those of my countrymen who do not happen to be present in this hall to the fact that as in many other institutions of modern economic life, in regard to the chambers of commerce also India is very young, indeed an essentially young country. We are far behind the rest of the civilized world in the chamber of commerce movement.

Since the establishment of the first chamber of commerce in France by Colbert in the seventeenth century the chamber of commerce idea has been having a career of world-conquest. A recent phase of this idea has embodied itself in the International Chamber of Commerce which has for the last five or six years been holding its sessions at New York, Rome, Paris and other metropolitan cities.

The chambers of commerce in the world at the present time belong to two different categories in their relations with the government. There is the British system in which the chambers are absolutely uncontrolled by the state as well as entirely optional to the mercantile communities. To this system belongs also America. The Belgian people seem to be the only one on the Continent of Europe to accept this practice of free and optional or voluntary chambers.

But as a rule the continental practice is entirely opposite. In Germany, in France, in Italy, in Austria, in Holland and

* Report of an address seconding the resolution at the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress, Calcutta, 1 January 1927.

in other countries the trading and industrial classes are compelled to have themselves registered in one or other chamber of the country. And the chambers themselves are legally under the control and supervision of the state.

Under the "continental" system the principle of compulsion makes it possible for all the commercial interests to be known to one another. The country is divided into a number of commercial districts and no individual or firm can stay away. The "Anglo-American" system cannot function in this all-inclusive and comprehensive manner. But under it the element of freedom is preponderant and elasticity of procedure the special characteristic.

The chambers of commerce are often purely "commercial". This is the case in France, Belgium and England. But in other countries, for instance, Holland, Italy, and Austria the chambers of commerce comprise the industries as well.

In India our chambers of commerce have grown up on the Anglo-American principle so far as freedom from official control and optional membership are concerned. But they are different from the British system in so far as the industrial and other economic interests are not excluded from these bodies.

But rising to second the resolution in regard to the establishment of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce I feel that for the present, the problem with us is not so much of the type to which our institutions belong or should belong but of the very demand among our countrymen for any chambers of commerce at all. It has appeared to me that the existing Indian chambers have perhaps not done their part adequately in the matter of educating the business world as to the functions they have been discharging in India's economic life. Our exporters, our retail traders, our banks and loan offices, our insurance societies, our chemical works, our mechanical and engineering firms are hardly aware of the services that a chamber of commerce can possibly render to the members concerned and to the business community at large.

The time has come when our industrial and commercial houses, no matter whether large, medium or small, no matter

whether located in the metropolis or in the mofussil should be induced to become members of provincial and all-India chambers of commerce. The advantages of such association with chambers should be patent to all business men. Apart from the fact that all unions are sources of strength in any case and are at the same time nuclei of social intercourse which may develop into intimate personal and professional friendship, there are certain facilities which can be placed at the disposal of the trading and industrial classes, chiefly if not exclusively, by the chambers of commerce.

In the first place, a chamber of commerce can disseminate among its members as well as among the public accurate information in regard to the marketing possibilities for Indian goods in foreign countries as well as the industrial, banking, insurance, customs, currency and transportation conditions and economic legislation prevailing abroad.

In the second place, information of all sorts regarding the money market, raw produce, exchange, railway and shipping rates, price movements, labor conditions, technical improvements, etc. in the different localities of the country can be catered to the members by a chamber functioning, as it should, as a clearing-house of statistical and commercial intelligence.

In the third place, the business status of firms in different places, the financial worth of agents, the reliability of customers and order-suppliers and such other items of a confidential character can be rendered accessible to members through a chamber at reasonable expenses and in as quiet a manner as possible.

Fourthly, a chamber of commerce can be used as a court of arbitration for trade disputes between firms that are its members.

Last but not least must be mentioned the political services of a chamber. As an important public body representing the varied wealth of the land its relations with the government can grow to be close. It can acquire a voice in the making and amendment of laws. And naturally it is through this body that a member-firm can bring its views, its complaints or its suggestions to bear upon the administration or legislative authorities. Both in regard to taxes as well as to tariff,

matters which affect every industrial and commercial transaction, a chamber is the most adequate and efficient medium for a firm's intercourse with the government especially when the firm is of humble dimension or located in the villages or subdivisional centres. It is again through the exertions of a strong chamber of commerce that the community at large, not only the business class but the people in general, can have a beneficent legislation passed or an undesirable statute or regulation removed from the civil and commercial codes.

I suspect that Indian merchants and industrialists in the districts, nay, in the metropolis are not perhaps well informed of the functions discharged by the existing Indian chambers. It is self-evident, however, that the kind and number of services depend on the resources, and in the long run, on the strength of membership of a chamber. So whatever may have been the case in the past, I believe that now that an All-India Federation is going to make its formal appearance a very important step has been taken which, it is hoped, will serve not only to combine and coordinate the diverse business interests of the Indian people under one or more strong organizations but also develop along fruitful and constructive lines the commercial intelligence and commercial policy of Young India.

CHAPTER XXIV

Indian Mercantile Marine

I do not know of any branch of economic life in which we people of India to-day happen to be more backward than in shipping and merchant marine. I doubt very much if even among the most distinguished of our industrialists and commercial heads shipping ever presents itself as one of the diverse practical business propositions. And so far as our politicians, newspapermen and intellectuals are concerned I am afraid even the word "shipping" does not exist in their encyclopaedia.

Let me hope therefore that you will allow me the liberty to indulge in one or two elementary remarks. Our countrymen ought to realize that shipping is, in the first place, an industry. It involves manufacture and automatically also the employment of engineers, architects and technical workers of all denominations. In the second place, shipping implies the services of nautical experts, sailors and sea-men of other descriptions. And last but not least, there are all the commercial aspects involved in the transportation of goods and services from point to point as embodied in export and import transactions.

These elementary considerations will at once have made it clear as to the vast extent of poverty, both economic and technical, in regard to the diverse kinds of trained and qualified man-power as well as in regard to the varied avenues to profitable occupation, from which we have been suffering on account of the absence of shipping as a mentionable line of Indian enterprise.

Now, the most important question in the present connection is:—To what extent is this poverty of India, as embodied in this absence of shipping industry and commerce among

* Summary of an address at the Calcutta Session of the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress in support of the resolution re the Mercantile Marine (2 Jan. 1927.)

Indians, due to the absence of initiative and to other defects among the people themselves? In answering this question I do not want you to waste your time over the metaphysical platitudes in regard to the special fitness or unfitness of a particular race in certain lines of business. Nor do I intend to ask you to consult the historical investigations bearing on the mercantile marine of the Hindus and Mussalmans of India down to the early years of the nineteenth century.

I wish, however, to invite your attention to only one fact in this connection. It is that the merchant marine has everywhere and always been essentially an offshoot of government enterprise. And to-day also it continues everywhere to be in great part a government or government-subsidized, or government-protected branch of economic activity. I am not one of those who in season and out of season would appeal to the government for help in the advancement of India's material prosperity. Much has and remains to be done by the people themselves. But in the little thought that I have been able to devote to the question of mercantile marine of the world it appears to me that this item of a people's economic venture owes its life, growth and expansion preeminently and almost by nature to the friendly, pioneering and self-sacrificing solitudes of the government.

Even to-day Great Britain and France levy extra duties on goods imported in foreign boats. Protectionism continues still to be the predominant feature in American shipping legislation. Coasting trade is entirely forbidden to foreign ships by Great Britain, America, Japan and Turkey.

Even to-day the British shipping companies like the P. & O. enjoy subsidies in regard to postal and military purposes. Similar subsidies are enjoyed by the German and Russian shipping companies.

The government of France goes further than this. It grants not only subsidies. It offers premium on the construction, installation and navigation of ships as well. Japan has followed France in premium-legislation.

Italy's policy is identical. And Mussolini, one of the most indefatigable patriots of mankind, is carrying the premium and subsidy policy to the nth term in order to promote the merchant

marine of his country and make it one of the strongest in the Mediterranean. One of the latest measures of this great benefactor of his country consists, as I read in the *Corriere della Sera* of Milan a few days ago, in the remission of all customs duties on foreign materials imported into Italy for the construction of ships. This remission may involve the loss to Government of 684,000,000 liras (about 9 crores of Rupees.)

Thank God, all these countries have their *ma-bap* in their governments. Each state is trying to develop the marine possibilities of its nationals to the highest of which they are capable. I therefore appeal to you in the name of Young India's future chances as naval architects, marine engineers, nautical technologists, transportation and forwarding agencies, as exporters and importers, to attempt by every means at your disposal to capture the state, to capture the state, to capture the state in order that the administration may be compelled to remember its duties and function in the only manner for which it is intended, viz. advancing the interests of the people.

CHAPTER XXV

Higher Exchange and Indian Agriculture *

There are certain considerations bearing on the rate of exchange which seem to have been ignored or overlooked as much by the Majority Report of the Hilton Young Currency Commission as by Sir Purushottomdas Thakurdas in his Minute of Dissent as well as by those who have contributed to the controversy during the last five months. The brunt of the fight has been borne by the problem as to the extent of adjustment or mal-adjustment between Indian price-level and world price-level.

But I intend to invite the attention of economists and publicists to the subject of the Rupee Sterling ratio in relation to the balance of trade. My object is to discuss the problems of Indian exchange in the context of export-curve and import-curve, and more especially the question of exports as affected by higher exchange.

The eighteenpenny Rupee is being condemned on the ground that it is detrimental to India's export-industries, in other words, to the interests of agriculture and the cultivator. My way of looking at things is quite otherwise.

Theoretically speaking, it may indeed be conceded to deductive reasoning that as soon as the Rupee becomes high compared to Sterling, the foreigner has to pay more in Sterling for the Indian goods if the price be calculated in Rupees. In other words, Indian goods become dearer to the parties that have to make purchases with Sterling. The consequence should be a fall in the foreign demand, which is tantamount to saying that the exports will tend to diminish in quantity. This tendency to the diminution of exports on account of high exchange or deflation has indeed constituted the argument of all those economists and statesmen who in almost every post-war country, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in

* Part of a discussion on currency questions at the Indian Economic Conference, Calcutta, 3 January 1927.

Germany, in France, in the Balkan states, and Italy, even in England have advocated inflation i. e. lower exchange in order to furnish a stimulus to exports.

Now, you would retort that this holds good in the relations between "gold standard" countries. But in "gold-exchange standard" countries like India you might argue that the prices of export-goods are calculated not in the currency of the country itself, i. e. not in Rupees but in terms of international medium of exchange, gold, say, dollar or sterling. And therefore as soon as there is high exchange the Indian exporters, in other words, our agriculturists should have to be satisfied with a lesser number of Rupees for the same amount of goods because the Sterling is low compared to the Rupee. Thus arguing, we should expect agriculture to be a less and less profitable concern and the agricultural output diminishing in quantity. The natural consequence to international trade should not fail to make its appearance. It ought to manifest itself in the tendency of India's exports to diminish.

We thus come to the same position as we had in the previous consideration. That is, whether the prices of Indian exports be calculated in terms of gold or in terms of silver Rupee, a high exchange—the eighteenpenny Rupee,—should prove to be a damper on India's export-trade.

These, then, are two wings of the *apriori* theory, the speculative reasoning, old Ricardian logic, on the strength of which one might argue that deflation, or high exchange, as embodied in the eighteenpenny Rupee would adversely affect India's export-trade, and, therefore, the agricultural classes. But what are the actual facts of India's overseas trade? We have the figures to tell us that exports have neither declined in volume during the last decade or so nor have they yielded a lesser and lesser number of Rupees. In other words, agriculture has not proved to be an economically losing concern nor has the agriculturist suffered.

The war-average in the export of grain (rice, wheat, barley etc.) gave the figure 3, 141,000 tons. In 1923-24 it rose to 3, 429,000 tons and in 1924-25 to 4, 260,000 tons. And the total Rupee prices received by Indians rose from 34,41,80,000 to 50, 87, 15,000 and 65, 06,04,000 respectively.

The essential seeds were exported to the extent of 708,000 tons per year during the war period, 1,1 77, 000 tons in

1922-23, 1, 255,000 tons in 1923-24, and 1, 328,000 tons in 1924-25. And the Rupee yields for the corresponding years were 12,17,42,000, 27, 35, 38,000,29, 81,72,000 and 33, 16, 85, 000 respectively.

The total value of exports, again, does not indicate any tendency to decline. On the contrary, beginning with Rs. 2, 15, 96, 70,000 per year during the war-period, it successively rose to Rs. 2, 99, 16, 19,000, 3, 48, 83,01,000 and 3, 84, 66, 53,000 in subsequent years.

But we are not interested in the export-curve in its splendid isolation. We are out to understand the export-schedule in reference to the rate of exchange. What is the significance of these rises in exports in the currency-history of India? Let us therefore place these increases in the figures (both in volume and Rupees) for exports in the perspective of the exchange-curve during the corresponding periods. All this time, as we are aware, the Rupee has been steadily rising in relation to Sterling. From $14\frac{3}{8}$ d in July 1922 it rose to $14\frac{5}{8}$ d in December 1922, $15\frac{1}{8}$ d in July 1924, $18\frac{1}{8}$ in June 1925.

The situation, therefore, is curious. The exports have been increasing both in volume and Rupee-price at a time while exchange has been rising too. But our theory should lead us to expect quite the reverse, namely, a decline in exports with the rise in exchange.

The facts being what they are, the conclusion forces itself upon us in a rather unexpected form. There is no other way but to believe that the amount and Rupee-value of India's exports are not dependent upon the rate of exchange, to put it in a sober manner. And therefore it would not be right to tie the fortunes of the cultivator and the exporter inevitably down to the currency questions. Agricultural prosperity, in so far at least as this export-item is concerned, has shown itself supremely indifferent to $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ or $15\frac{1}{2}\%$ fluctuations in the Sterling-Rupee relations.

If there is anything definite to be deduced from the history of our foreign trade it is the anomaly, the paradox, that the higher Rupee has actually been a stimulus to export or rather that the period of high exchange has coincided with the period of increased exports. What, then, becomes of the theory?

We have to admit that the demand for India's goods abroad is not determined, if at all, exclusively by the rate of exchange. There are other and more weighty circumstances influencing the price-movements of export-goods. And it is necessary to conclude that the validity of the purchasing power parity doctrine in Indian conditions has been as limited as that of the quantitative theory of money.

CHAPTER XXVI

Principles of Taxation *

As we are discussing the principles of taxation and not simply their administrative aspect I rise to say a few words. Two of the previous speakers have discussed the subject from the standpoint of the poorer classes. My object also is to take up the cause of the poor but from a rather different angle of vision.

I am not in agreement with those who champion the exemption of poorer classes from taxation. In my judgment the principle of exemption of any class is retrograde and unscientific. If you admit the principle of exempting any number of men and women from the duty of paying taxes to the State you cut away from them the very possibility of their functioning as political animals, as self-respecting members of the body politic. In the name of democracy as well as the growing *Swaraj* that is being established in India I should rather suggest that students of economics devote greater and more serious attention to the question of increasing the hold of the masses over the State by educating them up to the duty of paying more and more direct contributions to the national exchequer.

In the second place, the economists of India as well as our publicists ought to remember that the financial demands of democracy and *Swaraj* are enormous. During the last generation, in all the advanced countries of Europe and America the States have been realising, and the peoples getting used to, only one slogan and that is "taxes, more taxes, and still more taxes." The British theory and practice of death duties or inheritance taxes are quite well-known. The extreme Bolshevistic programme of progressive taxation which constitutes virtually expropriation or confiscation of property need not be discussed for the time being. But "capital levy" as adumbrated in England, as well as the taxes on industry

* Part of a discussion at the Indian Economic Conference, Calcutta Session, 4 January 1927.

as established in Tchechoslovakia, Germany and other countries indicate which way the financial brains of contemporary mankind have been working. And today we are in the midst of an agitation in Great Britain which seeks to graduate the taxes on property in such a manner that by the third generation it ceases to remain private and escheats to the State. It will not do for those students of social science who are trying to establish a national system of economics for India to ignore these tendencies of the world-spirit. They will have to take upon themselves the responsibility of developing a theory of "taxes, more taxes, and still more taxes" to be paid by Indians to the new democracy that is coming.

It is desirable to remember that the responsibilities of modern democracies are considerable. The States have been assuming on their shoulders the duty of providing to the people almost everything that is necessary for their physical and moral uplift. If Young India wants that the State should look to education, sanitation, social insurance, the protection of the widow and all other measures described generally as "developmental functions", our theorists as well as practical statesmen cannot fight shy of popularizing among the masses and the classes the privilege of contributing to the public revenues in a handsome manner.

Thirdly, the principle of a single tax, however conceived, is to be objected to on scientific grounds. In the first place no single tax is ever likely to contribute to the State enough resources for all its functions. In the second place, it is not likely to touch many hundreds, thousands, nay, millions of citizens and it will thus deprive them of functioning as real citizens, as self-conscious and self-determined moral agents. In the third place, by a system of single tax it will not be possible to tap all the diverse sources of wealth and income, both in rural and urban areas, which are the special features of the complex and varied economic organisation involved in modern life.

I am therefore in favour of multiplicity of taxes and the taxation of every form of wealth at its very source. What I am advocating will perhaps be found quite in keeping, curiously enough, with the financial theories of our old Kautilya of *Artha-sastra* fame.

Naturally, therefore, I am opposed to relying upon indirect taxes as the sole or chief source of revenue for a government. The system of direct taxes belongs to the characteristic practice of all modern states, and historically speaking it can be traced back to the Hindu and the Roman Empires. It is very desirable that the economic theorists of India should try to wean away our countrymen from the notions, wrong as they are, propagated in recent years in regard to the alleged absence of direct taxes in old Indian states. Such notions are at best adapted to the requirements of mediaeval patriarchal family-states and should be combated by all means in the interest of a scientific reorganisation of the financial brains of Young India.

CHAPTER XXVII

International Finance and Indian Banking *

This afternoon's addresses are marked by characteristic doses of nationalism. I propose to contribute to this discussion certain sidelights from the standpoint of British banking and British finance in its relations to India's economic development. I wish in this connection to dwell a little bit on international investments in the scheme of a national economy for India.

In 1905 there were 10 Exchange Banks, all European institutions, in India. In twenty years their number has grown up to 18. In 1905 they commanded 17 crores as deposits in Rupees. To-day the figure is about 71 crores.

In 1905 there were only 9 Indian Joint Stock Banks, (each with capital not less than 5 lacs) commanding a total deposit of about 12 crores. To-day the number has risen to 29 and deposit to about 53 crores.

Indian Banks have grown more than 3 times in number. But the increase in the number of foreign banks is somewhat lower than double. And in regard to deposits the growth in both Indian and foreign institutions is almost identical, namely four times.

Absolutely speaking, however, Rupee deposits in the foreign banks, namely, 71 crores, are much higher than the total deposits in all Indian banks put together.

These facts tell their own tale. British and other foreign banks have played and are continuing to play a very important role in the industrial development of India and its commercial transactions with foreign countries. The *Swadeshi* Indian banks will undoubtedly grow from more to more in the near future. And one of the greatest problems before economic science and practical business men consists in facilitating the growth and expansion of modern banks of all denominations under Indian auspices.

* Part of a discussion at the Indian Economic Conference, Calcutta Session, 4 January, 1927.

But it would be inexpedient and unstatesmanlike on the part of India for some long time to think of boycotting international finance. In the interest of speedy industrialization as well as the creation of employments for the working classes and intellectuals our financial heads will have to attach considerable importance to cooperation with external capital and the foreign credit institutions on reasonably arranged contractual terms.

India's orientations to the London Money Market,—the centre of international investors—are not intimate. This is perhaps one reason why while Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Africa have been absorbing enormous sums from the British investing public, India's share compared in terms of her capacity to absorb capital on account of her natural, physical and human resources, is inconsiderable. I invite the attention of Indian economists to this aspect of international finance and appeal to the bankers, industrialists and businessmen of India to cultivate the sense of rivalry with the Colonies in regard to the claims upon British investments abroad.

Capital has grown international. The exponents of national economy cannot afford to remain blind to the realities of the financial world. Our economic theories must have to renounce their mid-Victorian moorings and learn to keep pace with the growing epoch of economic interdependence and world-finance.

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